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ABSTRACT

In spite of opportunities for academic excellence, the 7,550 public school students of "Paradise Island" have average test scores well below statewide norms which, in turn, are below national averages. Sub-standard achievement in rural areas is a state-wide phenomenon which educators often explain in terms of isolation or minimal environmental stimulation (despite jet-age tourism). In "Paradise Island", a growing faculty preoccupation with student misbehavior hinders achievement. Violence and vandalism in the high schools outpace crime rates for the island as a whole, and there is a drastic deterioration in classroom climate. Hawaii is the only state where public education is administered on a statewide basis by one Board of Education through one Superintendent of Education, who delegates responsibility to District Superintendents of the seven school districts. The role of the district office is to enforce state and federal policy, to police performance in the field, and to direct communication to and from higher offices. Decision-making is inherently political. Anything not mandated is prohibited. Administration contact with faculty is primarily in the form of workshops in which administrators transmit orders. There is no provision for local control of education, and herein lies the problem. Control must be transferred from the state to the district level. Informed faculty and community members must be resource people instead of sullen recipients of dictated curricula. Instructions must be related to needs of students, and provisions must be made for faculty imagination, individual differences, and local conditions. (CM)

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STRANGER IN PARADISE

Process and Product in a District Office

Mickey McCleery

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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June 1979

"It is amazing what nonsense a man may conceive when he thinks too much alone."

-- John Maynard Keynes

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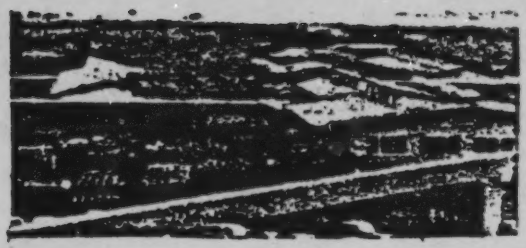
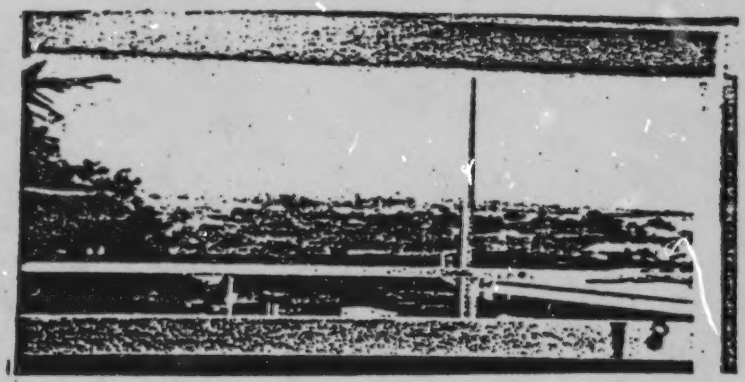
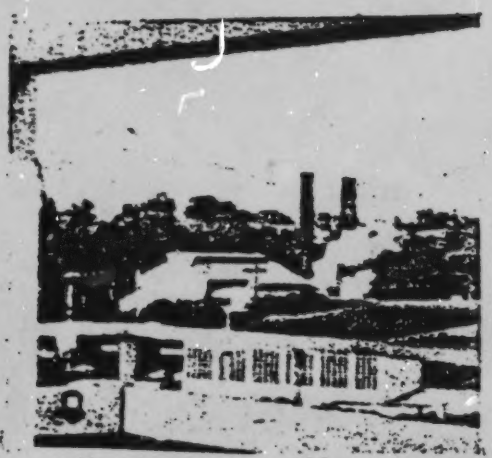
PERCEPTIONS OF PARADISE FROM AND WITHIN THE DISTRICT OFFICE



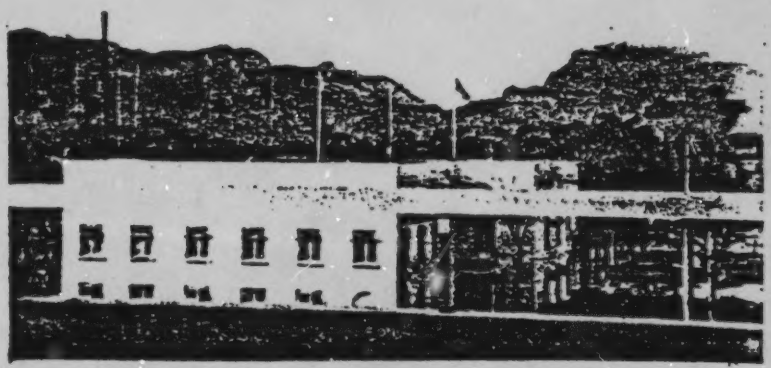
An adjacent school



The town and distant hills



Nearby sugar mill



The county building and civic center

The district office staff

Ideally, no doubt, the introduction of new dynamic forces ought to be accompanied by a reconstruction of the whole existing set of institutions, and in any actually growing society a constant readjustment of the more flagrant anachronisms is continually going on. But vis inertiæ tends at all times to keep most parts of the social structure as they are, in spite of their increasing incongruity with new social forces constantly coming into action.

Arnold J. Toynbee

JUN 1 3 1980

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STRANGER IN PARADISE

"Paradise" is a lush and lovely, largely unspoiled, sun-kissed island of some 500 square miles. Its flower-garlanded villages and schools are sited in a coastal belt of cane fields with views of mountain wilderness on one hand and the rich ecology of reef-sheltered shorelines on the other. Concepts of latitude and longitude are as alien to most of its students as their dimensions of mauka (inland) and makai (seaward) would be to educators elsewhere, so further geographical specifications will be neglected here.

The green-clad peaks of Paradise, rising from an azure sea, have been the backdrop for a dozen South Sea movies. Yet its size, population, topography, climate of growth, crystal-clear atmosphere, and possibilities are as suggestive of Athens's "golden age." To see this magic island is to be enchanted. To know its people is to fall hopelessly in love. Be warned that such is the spirit in which this analysis is written by a stranger who has come to stay.

Whatever their origins, the 32,000 Paradisians idealize and, in large measure, epitomize the vision of a golden people. They celebrate, in the Polynesian "aloha spirit," essential traditions of tolerance and mutual respect for the diverse cultures of their racially-mixed society. That virtue of a generous acceptance of ethnic or cultural differences has been instilled by the necessities of living together in small island communities, but its spirit is now so so deeply ingrained that language and manners incorporate the best qualities brought to the island by its successive waves of immigrants. This has not always been the case nor will it long remain.

Beneath its serene surface, the culture of Paradise retains bitter memories of past oppressions and frustrations with the shape of

impending change. After numerous libations poured to the spirit of friendship, these generous people may expose their lingering resentment of the haole (caucasian), plantation oligarchy that dominated every aspect of island life in years past. They may express a deep-rooted antagonism toward the latest wave of rich mainlanders who, in buying their bit of Paradise, have driven up land prices beyond the reach of local youth and, thus, broken up treasured family structures. The smile of welcome extended to strangers becomes somewhat cosmetic as that natural trait is exploited in the service of a burgeoning visitor industry. Still the warmth and beauty of Paradise seem to belie the prospect of a coming fall.

Such shadows on a sun-bathed landscape do little more than relieve its dominant features. The unhurried, uncrowded life of Paradise remains relatively free of slums, pollution, urban blight, or social conflict; but it is not without a heritage of "challenge" and "response." It is not a society in which people await the falling of fruit from the trees. Adventurous parents crossed unknown seas in search of a better life, bringing and sharing the cultures of ancient civilizations. They struggled upward from the peonage of plantation labor to achieve dignity and freedom for themselves and their children. In the course of those efforts, they created lifestyles in harmony with their environment and their neighbors. At the risk of encouraging further immigration, those labors have established their island as an ideal place to live.

The concern which generated this essay was to examine Paradise as a place to learn. Education has taken root here in an institutional structure which stands firm against the winds of change. What of its fruit?

An Educational Erewhon

The cultural-political climate of Paradise is almost as ideal for education as that of its endless summer is for natural growth. In a degree which reflects oriental values incorporated in this society and its educational system, children are loved and desired. They are reared, in most cases, in healthy environments, stable small communities, firm and extended family structures, and a tradition of respect for learning and teaching. The cultural residue of an impoverished past has led parents to project their own deferred aspirations on their children and sacrifice heavily for their achievement. Dennis Ogawa has entitled his definitive history of the Japanese American experience in Hawaii Kodomo No Tami Ni (for the sake of the children).[1]

Hawaii's political revolution of a generation ago, which ended a half-century of conservative Republican dominance, did not challenge the caste-ridden society of the past by direct attack on the wealth and vast land holdings of the plantation system. Its basic commitment to equal opportunity took the form of massive endowments to education, and that support has been maintained by a symbiotic relationship between the academic establishment and the succession of Democratic administrations ever since. Because teaching was one of the first avenues to professional status opened to a population long confined to menial roles, it attracted people of exceptional talent. Education in Paradise has not been hag-ridden by a public image of old maids and economic misfits that haunts that occupation elsewhere. It is an honored and well rewarded profession.[2]

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1 Dennis Ogawa, Kodomo No Tami Ni (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1978).

2 Public education and the University System received 31.5 % of all state funds appropriated in 1977-78, and the 19.1 % received by the Dept. of Education was the largest single category of the budget. Description of the Operating Budget System (State of Hawaii Department of Education, Honolulu, 1978). Pp. 27-8.

In part as a remnant of its historic monarchy and in part to mitigate corporate control of its plantation villages, Hawaii's governmental structure is more highly centralized than that of any other state. Its constitution permits limited home rule to counties - one of which is coterminous with this school district - but makes no provision for town or village government. Education is financed equitably and exclusively by state funds in a prosperous economy fueled by jet-age expansion of tourist enterprises. This leaves the educational practice of Paradise free from the constraints of a limited district tax base, narrow prejudices, or niggardly local administration. Of state expenditures on education of $1,960 per pupil in 1976-77, per pupil expenditures at the school level on Paradise were slightly higher than those of more wealthy and developed districts.

Also absent here are the convulsions over integration or consolidation which have disrupted learning so seriously elsewhere in recent years. The ethnic make-up of school enrollments has corresponded to that of the island as a whole throughout its recent history. In none of the district's three high schools - and in only one of ten village elementary schools - does one ethnic group constitute a majority of the student populations, although Filipino and Caucasian elements have been increasing in proportion to the Hawaiian and oriental. A more meaningful measure of the degree of school and social integration may lie in the fact that about 25 percent of recent marriages have been racially mixed.[3]

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3 Though not a focal point of this administrative study, the disparate educational outcomes of this "ideal" degree of integration and equality of treatment deserve further study in their own right in view of national policy in that regard.

The administrative structure of education, the central object of this study, is equally exceptional if, perhaps, something less than ideal. Hawaii's commitment to quality education has been supported by a prolonged quest for managerial excellence. Its large, highly professionalized, administrative establishment - the envy of many visiting educators - presses certain programs of management research and training as aggressively as those of curriculum development. Although total administrative costs are hard to isolate in figures which ignore time spent by line employees in completing required forms, general categories of "Instructional Administration and Support" and "Institutional Administration and Support" account for 13.1 and 19.5 percent respectively of the operating budget for fiscal 1977-78. More specific sub-items assign 5.7 percent to school administration, 3.1 percent to district administration, and 2.3 percent to state administration. These figures come to 11.1 percent of educational costs.[4] Figures permitting comparison with practice in other states are not available, and these are cited simply to show that administration and schooling are adequately supported here.

The Department's Administrative Manual begins with the following paragraphs, underlining the first.

> Hawaii's public school system is a single statewide system operating with a single mission under a singleness of rules, regulations, and statutes with resources from one single source (general revenues of the State of Hawaii).
>
> Hawaii is the only state in the nation where public education is administered on a statewide basis by one Board of Education through one executive administrator, the Superintendent of Education. The seven school districts encompass rural, agricultural, suburban, and urban communities and function as part of a single statewide system with authority as delegated by the Superintendent. Differences due to geographic, population, and

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4 Financial Report, Department of Education, July 1, 1976 - June 30, 1977 (Office of Business Services, State of Hawaii, Department of Education, Honolulu, 1978). Pp. 5, 7, and 30 display costs by category and district, showing that school level expenditures of $1,175 per pupil on Paradise are marginally higher than those of any other district in the state.

> community makeup must be recognized in planning for the accomplishment of the Department's mission. 5

That final sentence above posed the initial issues of an inquiry into the "process and product of a district office" as the agency responds to its distinctive but rapidly changing environment. The paradox of the study emerged as the expected response proved nearly non-existent. To anticipate pages to follow, the last lines of the mandate quoted have been subsumed in the context of the first, and the author has become absorbed in second order questions.

When the highly centralized character of this Department threatened to frustrate the objects of this study and the possibilities of its generalization, a preliminary description of the administrative structure was submitted for comment. Those notes brought a thoughtful and informed reply that "Hawaii's form of centralization must be only slightly further to the right than that contemplated or urged in various states now on the mainland."[6] That reply seemed, at first, incredible with reference to this writer's youthful experience in the rural midwest, but it seems a sound judgment of trends reflected in recent literature.[7] Given the exhaustion of local resources, increased federal requirements, and the progress of administrative orthodoxy, Hawaii's educational establishment may be a model for the future elsewhere - for inquiry if not for imitation.

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5 Administrative Manual for Educational Managers (Office of the Superintendent, State of Hawaii Dept. of Education. Honolulu, 1976). P. 1.

6. Personal correspondence from Mr. Fritz Mulhauser, Project Officer, National Institute of Education, March 22, 1978.

7 See, for example, L. Harmon Zeigler, Haevey J. Tucker, and L. A. Wilson, "How School Control Was Wrested from the People," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 58, No. 7 (March, 1977). Pp. 534-39. The language and perspective of the paper are more moderate than its title suggests.

A substantial school system, backed by a dedicated and well-funded administration, set in this unique physical, social, cultural, and political climate for educational growth, would lead one to expect exceptional results. Looking at qualities of tolerance, sensitivity, and generousity imparted by the culture of Paradise to the vast majority of its youth, such hopes are richly fulfilled. Outstanding achievement by some of our students in the public schools and beyond amply demonstrates that opportunities for academic excellence exist.

Such opportunities are seldom seized. Substandard and declining academic outcomes of the district, as measured by standard tests, are stranger than expected. Average test results from Paradise have fallen well below statewide norms which, in turn, are below those national averages which create so much pedantic distress elsewhere. In spite or because of intense administrative concern for the basic skills thus measured, the decline through a decade reached a point at which methods of reporting were changed in ways which prevent exact comparison, but the decline is substantial. Associated with that decline is a growing faculty preoccupation with student misbehavior - alien to the culture of Paradise - at the expense of achievement. Violence and vandalism in the high schools most impacted by social change are reflected in, but vastly outpace, slowly rising crime rates for the island as a whole.

The systematic observations of this study have focused on the district office rather than the schools. However, a dozen years ago, this writer offered "advanced placement" courses in local high schools with success and pleasure comparable to that previously achieved in an exclusive private college. More recently, he served a mercifully brief

period as a substitute teacher in those same schools. While those experiences are not precisely comparable, resulting impressions of a drastic deterioration in classroom climate are supported by a mass of testimony by students, parents, teachers, and building custodians as well as by measured results.

Measured results must be treated with some caution. Rumor has it that some schools encourage the absence on test days of those students whose performance would embarass the institution. Evidence of this writer's work with dropouts clearly indicates that some students, faced with standardized, objective exams, refuse to play games they are destined to lose and "fill in bubbles" at random with a sense that they cannot really fail if they don't really try. Their performance in more comfortable, diagnostic testing situations contradicts meaninglessly low prior results. In any case, machine scored answer sheets make a poor mirror of the appealing qualities of island youth.

Stanford Achievement Tests are administered statewide, and the results are released as "below average" (three lowest stanines), "average" (three middle stanines), and "above average" (three highest stanines). In national testing 23 percent of students fall into the below and the above average categories. Tested statewide achievement in math is just slightly below national norms for the entire student population, and scores of Hawaii's college-bound seniors on the Scholastic Aptitude Test are exactly comparable with national averages on that measure - 467 at last report. Substantially lower statewide results in language and verbal skills are attributed to our multi-lingual population and the persistence of a local pidgin dialect in spite of decades of educational effort to repress that.

Test results suggest, however, that the dialect is communicated through peer exchanges in the schools more effectively than standard English is taught. Stanford Reading Tests statewide show that second graders here are slightly above national norms, but test results decline progressively until, by the tenth grade, 34 percent fall into the lower three stanines and 15 percent score in the top three.

Some comparison of test results on Paradise with statewide averages can be made with reported results of 1977 Stanford Achievement Tests of 10th grade students.

	Reading			English			Math		
	Low	Avg.	High	Low	Avg.	High	Low	Avg.	High
Statewide	35	50	15	38	50	12	36	46	18
Paradise	39	50	11	39	50	11	35	50	15

Such was the information, less persuasive than direct experience, on which this inquiry was initiated. A later report by the district consolidated test results into two categories: those below average and average or above. Tension produced by that gap between apparently ideal possibilities and actual results supplied energy for this inquiry and sustained it through prolonged frustrations.* There are, in fact, no snakes in Paradise. Yet one is driven to suspect some serpentine process by which its potentialities are transformed into handicaps and the fruits of knowledge are lost in transit.

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* Information received after the completion of the present paper indicates that an intense, system-wide concern for basic skills and test results has improved the scores reported above for both the state as a whole and this district. The improvement has moved a significant proportion of students from "below average" into the "average" category without increasing the proportion in the "above average" group. Dramatic changes reported in some localities call for as much skepticism as congratulation, but the sustained emphasis on improving test scores has borne some fruit. In spite of identical conditions of instruction, those fruits continue to be distributed unequally among ethnic groups within the population.

A Research Utopia

In its larger dimensions, the economic life of Paradise is subject to the dictates of absentee owners, national markets, and labor contracts negotiated statewide. Less than a tenth of its rich lands are locally owned. The large sugar plantations, once operated in the semi-responsible style of feudal baronies by local oligarchs, are now subsidiaries of international conglomerates. Corporate agriculture and the new tourist "destination areas" both require massive investments of capital not available here. Hence, the impact of strictly economic decisions in remote board rooms can have cataclysmic social consequences for plantation villages and single-industry towns. However disastrous such changes may be for local lifestyles, they present exceptional opportunities for social research in their differential impact on local schools.

The population of Paradise is fragmented into a series of proudly separate sub-communities, influenced in varying degrees by the tides of change. The island's several villages are distributed along its coastal plain according to the dictates of plantation agriculture in a vanished, pre-automobile era when cane reached the mills by rail. Old patterns of land use and habitation are sharply different from those emerging in the present era of resort development. The idea of Paradise as a single entity, employed by some visiting planners and consultants, is a meaningless abstraction to most local residents. They reluctantly accept the rising prominence of the county seat as that derives from its adjacent airfield and port facilities as well as its public payroll. However, attitudes of localism held by older inhabitants were forged in interaction around their village schools, post offices, mills, and company stores, and those attitudes were sharpened in confrontation with those of other

localities across fields of athletic competition. Although adequate exploration of this goes beyond the scope of the district office and this inquiry, attendance areas of the district's three high schools promise a significant study in contrasts as those institutions respond to the differential impact of social change.

One high school overlooks a town whose principal industry and source of student summer employment, pineapple canning, failed during the decade, leaving many people and thousands of surrounding acres lying idle. Meanwhile, an untended coconut plantation by the shore was transformed into a tourist destination area with over 2,000 rooms and dozens of specialty shops staffed mainly by in influx of young, mainland surfers. Shabby, family stores along the main street once relied on good will built up by honest service over generations. Now, half of those have been bought up by outsiders and transformed into garish tourist traps, catering to transient residents of condominiums now rising around the bay where real estate values have increased ten-fold in a decade. That school's attendance area includes another village whose mill closed after almost a century as its single employer and whose surrounding fields were snapped up by outside land speculators. The attendance area extends to a farther village so quaintly isolated and beautiful that its pastures have been developed as an internationally famous golfing resort in recent years. Average daily absence in that high school is 9.3 percent of enrollment.

A dozen years ago, a liberal and innovative principal in that school most impacted by change obtained good academic morale and results with many of his students at some expense of a loss of discipline among others. That second result generated some local discontent, and the

principal left for another island. He was replaced by a man of commanding stature - a respected athlete and disciplinarian who died in office soon thereafter. The next principal, also committed to establishing firm discipline, soon requested reassignment back to an elementary school. The impact of social change seems to have fallen with special force on that principal's office, but it is reflected in the most serious problems of student achievement and behavior found in the three high schools. When someone miscounts the score in playground games, others will inquire, "____ High?"

By way of contrast, the high school area at the leeward end of the island remains relatively untouched by that tidal wave of social change. Although the cane fields and sugar mills which dominate the economy of that area still attract Filipino immigrants to its labor force, the physical and social structures of its quiet villages remain unchanged. Although a substantial proportion of its students are drawn from immigrant homes in which little or no English is spoken, its average of tested student achievement is slightly above that of its sister schools and results for English and reading are substantially so. Its rate of student absenteeism, seven percent, is the lowest of the three high schools, and - though disciplinary problems exist - it is reported that the community covers those up. The principal is a grey, soft-spoken, serious man whose respected tenure now extends to ten years. He is the only one among his colleagues whose response to some exceptional procedure is invariably, "Let's do whatever is best for the student."

A third high school, serving the growing county seat and its environs, stands literally in between those extremes of social stability and transformation. It rests on a bluff overlooking the harbor, on one

hand, and an old but expanded tourist hotel on the other. One outer edge of its attendance area has seen a substantial increase in resort development. Its instruction is interrupted with increasing frequency by the roar of incomming planes in the landing pattern which passes directly overhead, but its environment is relatively stable otherwise. Although pockets of poverty are included, the attendance area also encompasses the most affluent neighborhoods and better educated families on the island. Experienced public officials and corporate executives who have prospered with the changing times continue to play a prominent role in the well-ordered community life of that area. Rates of student absenteeism, 8.5 percent, are at mid-point between those of the institutions noted above.

This centrally located school, lying between extremes of social change, has some characteristics which make comparisons difficult. Once the only high school on the island, it retains a public reputation for academic excellence no longer sustained by a disproportionate share of educational resources. The averages of its students' achievement conceal vast differences in individual accomplishment, and its quite respectable scores in math are at odds with the lowest results in language skills among its sister schools. It produces some outstanding graduates, a disproportionate number of dropouts, and some sensational instances of violence on campus. The past five years have brought a high rate of turnover, illness, and consequent discontinuity in its principal's office.

In spite or because of its economic dependency, Paradise remains a relatively isolated and comprehensible island society. A point of particular pride in local history is the fact that this island alone remained unconquored by the monarch who first united the rest of the archipelago.

Although its decision-making processes must defer to outside corporate interests, they do not include those interests. The conservative structures of social action and influence through which conditions of life are adjusted with geographic and economic boundaries are normally self-contained and open to observation. While that rule holds for other civic affairs, the governance of education proved, on inquiry, to be an exception.

The District Office of the Department of Education occupies the entire top floor of a massive State Building and commands, at least, a spectacular view of the county seat, its civic center, and scenic environs. The Paradise District is, for all practical purposes, co-terminous with this island.[8] A handsome but crowded central office houses the District Superintendent and his Deputy, their administrative staff of six educational specialists, eight clerks and secretaries, and eight other professional personnel who perform special services throughout the district from that headquarters. Facilities of the office include a large conference room and table where administrators meet among themselves or with principals to discuss educational matters and the staff gathers for coffee-break conversation. That is the setting in which one would expect to observe the processes of adjusting to those "differences due to geographic, population, and community makeup . . . in planning for the accomplishment of the Department's mission" - the initial concern of this study.

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8 The District does include a small, nearby, "forbidden" island, privately owned as part of extensive land holdings by an old Paradise family determined to protect it from the 20th Century. Its tiny public school is so ignored by administrators as to represent an extreme accommodation to local circumstances.

The author of these notes is employed in a modest, part-time position in the district office and has been located for the past four years in one of the several staff cubicles just off its conference room. That position and his pleasant interactions with the staff provide the principal vantage point for these observations. That situation seemed to provide an ideal research opportunity. It must be noted, however, that certain biases are built in and brought to that position. An understanding of those biases provides a key to whatever "logic" eventually emerged in the course of this study.

The principal built-in bias of the writer's position lies in its assignment to adult education and the task of serving high school dropouts who seek their diploma by that route. Hence, its most frequent contacts are with people whose experience of school has matured in frustration, alienation, and failure. A prejudice which emerges in those interactions has been exposed in discussions with faculty members of the University's College of Education. The primary interactions of those faculty members are with students whose success and satisfaction in school have attracted them to the teaching profession, and their perceptions of Hawaii's educational system are far more positive than those available to this writer - or those held by scholars in other departments of the University.

Other institutional biases are probably inherent in this writer's marginal membership on the district office team, and these have prolonged the present analysis by inhibiting the glib generalizations which emerge so easily when one observes an agency from without. A participant comes to share a characteristic of this organization

which is to delay any decisive action which might adversely impact respected associates. That may be the methodological price which research must pay to obtain a closer view of its subject, but it is inescapable that data observed are relative to the position of the observer. Here as elsewhere, adult education is somewhat peripheral to the central concerns of educational administration, but the stature of the man who heads that function here gives him a prominent place in the work of this office.

Many years ago, George C. Homans developed a sociological theory based on interrelationships of "activity," "interaction," and "sentiment."[9] Homans' concepts proved to be effective analytic tools in the writer's prior institutional studies, and they assist in understanding the biases of his present position. They are applied in the following analysis to the task of understanding the positions of the writer's associates. After outlining the institutional context of this office, the pages to follow will detail the activities of its staff and their patterns of interaction as those relate to sentiments which make up its institutional ideology. Behaviors observed will be interpreted, first, in that theoretical context, and additional hypotheses will be sought only as necessary.

It is quite possible that the biases of the author's personality may exceed those of his institutional position. Those prejudices include a practiced impatience with bureaucratic inflexibility and a long-standing interest in educational innovation. He abandoned

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9 George C. Homans, The Human Group (Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1950).

academic life amid the turmoil of the mid-1960's in search of an environment more conducive to learning and has found that, for himself at least, here. Some personal biases have been softened in a warm relationship with a son and that son's classmates as they progressed adequately through local schools. Others have been modified in discussion with close friends at every level of the state's educational hierarchy as well as among local teachers and community members. Still others have been refined in association with generous and dedicated co-workers in this office. Such biases as remain must be subjected to the reader's judgment and accepted as the responsibility of the writer alone.

To summarize the section above, this situation seemed to provide an unexcelled research opportunity to observe institutional adjustment to varied local circumstances and social change. To anticipate the pages to follow, the problem lay in the dearth of data to observe. This essay must address the difficult task of explaining what does not occur as well as accounting for what does.[10]

Notes on the Logic of Inquiry

As indicated earlier, the impetus of this study grew out of things unseen - the growing gap between apparent educational possibilities and actual results. The substance of the research throughout has

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10 Karl E. Weick's seminal article, "Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems," encourages one to attempt this seemingly impossible labor by asserting, "The basic methodological point is that if one wishes to observe loose coupling, then he has to see both what is and what is not being done." Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 1 (March, 1976). P. 10. In that same passage, Weick goes on to accent the necessity for the type of "contextual methodology" which seemed possible in this isolated, insular district.

been preoccupied with adjustment of instruction to conditions of the environment, changes in local communities, and ways students react to their experience. Few such adjustments have appeared. The most elementary concepts of systems theory, assumed in the original research design, implied that massive changes in environmental "input" would produce structural changes in the agency and substantive changes in its "output." Hence, a proposal was submitted to study processes by which institutional adjustment to social differences occurred and compare cases of successful and unsuccessful innovation.

That proposal was submitted in good faith. The adult education enclave in which this writer works is one in which substantial and functional adjustments have appeared. Only after considerable investment in the study had been made was it apparent that those innovations had emerged quite apart from standard administrative practice. The office as a whole was actively involved in instituting curricular changes. Only on further inquiry was it clear that changes imposed on the schools originate at higher administrative levels with little regard for local circumstances. The "problem" to be studied was not a problem in the minds of the author's associates. Gaps between possibilities and results or challenge and response were consequences of a stranger's way of seeing things. Viewed in a different perspective, "potential" and "challenge" alike are simply obstacles in the way of achieving standard and uniform educational procedures.

While common sense should have dictated abandoning a fruitless inquiry, the momentum of its initial concern drove this study on to explore the structure and interactions of an agency in terms of what those

inhibit as well as what they allow. With the collapse of its original rationale, inquiry was still confronted by perceptable gaps between environmental change and organizational inertia and between institutional effort and educational outcome. In pursuit of those issues, the study followed faint paths of barefoot empiricism toward the eventual - often accidental - discovery of notions which partially explain the data observed as well as that unseen. The reader must be warned against expecting the usual study which tests a single hypothesis in a selected body of evidence.

The reader must also be reminded that this was a study of process and product in a district office. Its most obvious conclusion is that these things, like learning itself, can only be understood in a larger social context. As observations in and of this office continued, they posed questions about events in the wider environment, behavior in the schools, and practices at higher administrative levels which transcend the vantage point or resources of this small study. The reader, like the author, will often be frustrated by the absence of adequate evidence on questions raised. That difficulty of the study is one shared by the agency observed. This paper will share the observations made and attempt to account for what does not happen here in terms of what does. To anticipate distant conclusions, if education is to be "brought to life" - related to the child's larger learning experience in his environment - that process must occur at the level of the school and local community. One hope is that these notes will stimulate others better equipped to pursue that issue to the operating level.

The Structure of Public Education

The public school establishment on Paradise consists of ten elementary and three secondary schools serving 7,550 students - 7,000 in regular instruction and 550 in special education programs. The district employs 429 certificated personnel and a classified (state civil service) staff of 141. Although minor management functions are delegated to department or grade level chairmen in the faculties, the main burden of administration rests on the hierarchy of five vice-principals, twelve principals, and the eight district office administrators who have risen from instructional ranks within the district.

Public education is supplemented at the elementary level by four Catholic schools enrolling 700 students, two protestant denominational schools serving another 60, and a "progressive" private school with 40 students. Almost all these youngsters are absorbed in the public high schools later.[11] A Community College, part of the state university system, offers vocational and college transfer courses which may be taken on an advanced placement basis by some high school seniors. That option enriches the curriculum of the high schools in which enrollments of under 1,000 cannot support quite the range of courses available in large, metropolitan schools.

Physical structures, although standard in many respects, range from dilapidated to exceptional with little apparent relation to master

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11 The state's most prestigious high schools are private Honolulu institutions, founded for the children of the elite when the society was sharply divided by social class and public education was minimal. About 30 of this island's better scholars or athletes move away from local high schools to board and study at those private institutions.

planning or educational outcomes. Construction funds are "line itemed" by the state legislature in a separate, capital improvements budget not constrained by recommendations of the Department which administers those funds. Appropriations for construction are influenced by a range of political and economic considerations, and physical plants reflect some variation from the dominant political-administrative norm that equality of opportunity requires identity of treatment. Construction is piecemeal.

The combined gym and assembly hall buildings at each of the three high schools date from the same distant era, and these are identical in every detail. Each high school has a comfortable, relatively new, but somewhat different administration building, differing in terms of styles prevailing at the date of its construction. Each has some modern classroom areas, including separate, "portable" classrooms of a design that is uniform statewide. However, each plant also includes drab and noisy, single-walled, frame classroom buildings in use for over 30 years. The most generally decrepit of the three high schools received funds for a substantial new physical education plant and playing fields named after a principal - a noted athletic supporter - who died in office. However that process of decision may have worked in fact, its result seems a bit more human than the usual product of standard administrative procedures.

Elementary school facilities vary more widely. One school, serving the island's most affluent sub-community, boasts the most modern architectural design and technological resources. When asked to explain how such apparently ideal resources could be obtained, the principal notes that, first, one must have a fire but, further, it is helpful to have the senior member of the island's legislative delegation residing in the town.

The new plant includes the only joint, school-community library on Paradise and exceptional audio-visual facilities. On first visiting this school, the writer was moved to exclaim, "I have seen the future; does it work?" The principal's reply was, "No." His judgment seemed confirmed by depressing, achievement test results available then. Later test results have proved quite favorable and comparable with decent scores reported from a school which lies at the opposite extreme of facilities and circumstances, moving the principal to qualify his judgment of the technological future.

At the other end of a scale of physical facilities, an elementary school serving the smallest of the island's villages makes do with termite-riddled classrooms built more than 50 years ago and a cafetorium completed in 1940. Those relics of an educationally impoverished era suffer further from neglect dictated by economic and administrative considerations which urge merger with the school of a neighboring area. With the failure of the sugar company which had been its only employer, the village itself seemed destined to vanish. However, this tiny school continues to produce test scores comparable with the best earned elsewhere on the island and send young people on to brilliant achievements in higher education while the community resists pressures toward consolidation.

Although this survey has not explored every possibility, the evidence available, like these examples, shows no apparent relation between the cost, quality, or design of physical facilities and educational achievement. What does make a difference? With very young children, destruction of their immediate learning environment with the burning of their school may account for the sharp decline continued in new facilities. With high school students, discontinuities in the broader learning environment of the community seem to have similar adverse consequences for academic work.

Administration

Primary responsibility for the management of education on Paradise lies with its District Superintendent. Through nearly all the period of this study, that office was filled by an erect, soft-spoken gentleman who had held the position for many years and approached retirement with quiet dignity. Although the District Superintendent nominally serves at the pleasure of the State Superintendent and Board, the stature of this man in his community and its educational establishment was such as to make his replacement unthinkable. He was never known to raise his voice - a task assumed by his Deputy on rare occasions as required - or treat any employee with less than exquisite courtesy, but his reputation for fairness was legend among students as well as staff. Appeals from arbitrary rulings anywhere within the district invariably moved him to urge thoughtful reconsideration on the decision maker.

To capture the flavor of official perceptions, the duties of the District Superintendent and the constraints on his office are reported in the language of the Department's brochure describing district office functions.

> The District Superintendent is the chief administrative officer and is responsible for the over-all planning, organizing, staffing, directing and controlling of educational program, finances, personnel and facilities of the district.

The weight of those responsibilities is qualified, however, by the passages immediately following.

> Using the [State] Foundation Program and Master Plan for Education as basic documents as well as state guides and manuals, [Paradise] District provides leadership and service

functions to the schools.

> Inherent in the administration of the district is the necessity to adhere to established departmental policies, procedures, rules and regulations as well as Hawaii laws and employee contracts.

Some of the limits thus imposed on local discretion appear in the fact that the contract between the Hawaii State Teachers' Association and the State Board of Education extends to 87 printed pages. Its specification of such matters as duty periods, parking privileges, time allowed for faculty meetings, and the "coin flip" procedure for teacher assignment to be used when other criteria fail represent only part of the particulars by which administrative judgment is hedged. Responding to the mass of state-level regulation, the association has fought fire with fire and created a situation in which district administrators cannot conceive of innovations which would alter established work rules. The constraints thus established seem to inhibit imagination of other novelties which might exist within the rules and time boundaries now fixed.

Before exploring the structure of the district office in any detail, it is necessary to outline Hawaii's unique, statewide educational system and the boundaries that imposes on district functions. However, an outline can barely note such determining factors as Hawaii's heritage of dominant executive power, its political revolution of the mid-1950s which made equality of opportunity through education its central thrust, the fragmentation and drift to the right of that once-radical leadership which stills clings to control over state government, or the slow atrophy of the organization which finds its focus in the office of the governor and its backbone in public employee associations

and their contacts with the electorate. [12]

The place of the Department of Education in Hawaii's political and governmental structure is unclear. Under the state's original constitution of 1950, the governor appointed the board of education and the agency was only one of seventeen state departments under the control of his exceptional executive powers. A constitutional amendment in 1964 provided for a non-partisan, elected board, empowered to formulate policy and "exercise control over the public school system through its executive officer, the superintendent of education." The Legislative Auditor describes its consequences as follows:

> Although the legislature enacted legislation enabling the effectuation of the new constitutional mandate for an elected board, it did not alter existing statutes providing for supervisory powers in the governor over all executive agencies. The legislative decision not to alter these existing statutes, notwithstanding the constitutional change to an elected board, has given rise to the present governor - board of education relationship which may aptly be described as anomalous. . . .
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> The result of these limitations on the powers of both the governor and the board of education is uncertainty, conflict, and confusion. [13]

A principal beneficiary of that confusion in an era of growth

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12 Lawrence Fuchs' Hawaii Pono, A Social History (Harcourt, Brace, and World, New York, 1961) traces the social and political revolution from its origins through the first decade of statehood. Nothing comparable has appeared to bring that account up to date.

13 Management Audit of the Department of Education, Audit Report No. 73-1 (Office of the Legislative Auditor, Honolulu, 1973) p. 12. The Auditor, respected for neutral competence in studies of this type, savages the department through 400 pages detailing mismanagement, overstaffing, and inefficiency, and he seems to give way to frustration as his standard concepts of administrative analysis fail to apply to or make sense of this agency. At one point (p. 19) in his futile search for accountability, the Auditor concludes that the department of budget and finance, by virtue of its review and specific budget cuts, has "for all practical purposes . . . become the effective program manager for education."

and legislative munificence was the state office establishment which has filled in ambiguities in governance piecemeal. In the period from 1965 to 1973, as school enrollment peaked and began its recent decline, the number of educational officers at the state level increased from 85 to 188, or 121 percent. During that period, their counterparts in the seven districts increased from 65 to 93, or 43 percent, while the teaching faculty expended by only 39 percent. [14] More recent figures are not comparable, but - with the proliferation of new programs and federal requirements - rates of increase since are reported to be proportional. The 1978-79 Directory of the Department lists 256 professional positions in the state office, supported by a clerical and technical staff of 172.

In the first years of the elected board, the confusion that distressed the Auditor was minimized by plentiful resources and the prudent practice of appointing superintendents from among the governor's men in the senior ranks of the educational bureaucracy. More recently, the governor's policies of budgetary restraint moved the board to name its own man and, in attempting to assert its independence, to become in some measure a captive of its own creation. If this tends to further confuse a muddled picture, it seems to enhance the role of a second hierarchy within the formal structure. One group of grey functionaries designs and enforces standard, uniform procedures throughout the department; and a second, including more active members of that organization which has centered in the office of the governor for the past 16 years, serves to bypass those stultifying regulations when necessary. Both hierarchies are essentially conservative and loyal to the party that has endowed education so richly and opened its careers to merit. They

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14 Ibid. Pp. 68-71.

treat each other with mutual respect and coexist in surprising harmony, but - as the Auditor's report reiterates - they defy rationalization in terms of standard management principles.

Meanwhile, the magnitude of the department's budget, rising public discontent with educational results, and a decline in party discipline have encouraged the legislature to intrude more actively in educational affairs. Since no funds are constitutionally earmarked for education, all appropriations are line itemed by the legislature which often subverts the policies of the governor or the board by that device. That body enjoys and abuses a large measure of irresponsibility, for the governor holds both an item veto and the power to withhold specific appropriations, cheapening the cost of legislative gestures.

The stifling effect of complex, internal lines of communication has funneled faculty and public discontent to the legislative wing of the party and factions there already annoyed by the governor's withholding their appropriations. That discontent emerges in such forms as the Auditor's report, a bill to bypass the bureaucracy and give special funds directly to the schools, a resolution in a supplemental appropriation bill to abolish the Office of Instructional Services (the largest division of the state office), and explicit legislative prohibitions against innovations initiated there. Attacks on the department and the administration's supporters there have been a popular strategy of legislative politics, and the promise to "clean out the DOE bureaucracy" was a principal issue in the recent, closely contested, gubernatorial primary campaign which failed by the narrowest of margins.

Although the governor's extensive powers have blunted most of those attacks, results have been to vastly intensify the defensiveness of an organization understandably defensive to begin with and redouble its efforts to impose statewide controls. When the top administrator charged with civil rights enforcement in the agency made a public suggestion that the department "might not be in compliance," he and his first deputy were fired out of hand. The overall institutional climate is not conducive to the formulation of problems or the communication of bad news upward through the chain of command.

It is in this context that the board makes policy, its superintendent issues orders, his staff writes regulations, the teachers' association negotiates contracts having the force of law, advisory committees advise, and the governor's department of budget and finance scrutinizes both budget and allotment requests in minute detail - each acting on somewhat different perceptions of the public interest - and the issue of responsibility remains obscure. In a context of declining achievement, expanding regulation, and uncertain authority, a few individuals respond with aggressive energy, but the prevailing mood is one of cautious restraint. The burden of busy work never fails to offer a ready alternative to incisive analysis or active confrontation of basic, local problems.

Issues recognized at the state level (competency testing, the English curriculum, graduation standards, provisions for the gifted, credit by examination, etc.) are addressed by task forces which include public and faculty representatives as well as administrators. These large, ad hoc committees meet periodically under the guidance of

units in the state office for terms of two or three years, and their recommendations are translated into statewide policy and detailed procedures by the department.

In many respects, Hawaii's situation only exaggerates patterns of bureaucratic predominance, atrophy of local participation or policy control, and ambiguous responsibility which Zeigler and Tucker describe as characteristic of school districts generally. [15] The exclusive dependence on state general funds, by which Hawaii anticipates trends or legal requirements elsewhere, guarantees equal resources but largely removes from district consideration those policy areas which are inseparable from budgetary priorities. [16] However, the differences in scale represented by this statewide system seem to become differences in style and substance. Anomalies in formal structure are not resolved here by filtering decisions through the consensus of local influentials noted in so many studies of local power structure. [17] They remain to complicate the language of formal regulations.

Public, professional, and legislative opinion have combined for some years to urge a delegation of greater responsibility to school and local levels. This decentralization of decision-making is the

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15 L. Harmon Zeigler and Harvey J. Tucker, "The Politics of Educational Governance," Ch. 5 of The Quest for Responsive Government: An Introduction to State and Local Politics (Duxbury Press, North Scituate, Mass., 1978). The work summarizes current practice and historic trends.

16 Ibid. P. 227.

17 Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in a Mass Society (Doubleday-Anchor, Garden City, N. Y., 1960). Their study explores in depth a situation reported in research from Elmtown on in which educational policy is controlled by the values and interests of local elites. It is a model of "contextual analysis" in circumstances directly opposite to those of the present study.

stated policy of the board and the superintendent it selected with that end in view. In that respect, they anticipated an act of the last legislature which challenged the administration's budget and appropriated "special needs" funds directly to the schools. Yet the principle, as filtered through the language of state office directives, does not inspire radical initiative. The Department's Administrative Manual discusses "decentralization" in the following terms:

> Decision making will be delegated to the lowest possible echelon (see Chapter 4, Section 4.6). Principals and vice-principals are encouraged to take on as much responsibility as they think they can handle and are assured that mistakes will be tolerated -- up to a point. We will impose just one basic stricture. Whatever you do, you must be able to convince us later that what you did was reasonable. If you are not sure, then you should come to the next higher echelon first. 18

The reasonableness of any action is to be judged against the policies of the Department rather than the "authority of the situation."

The issue of delegation is stated in more sympathetic terms in another staff document. "The Superintendent and the Board of Education have been pushing to decentralize authority and decision-making to the districts and schools. However, due to certain factors, mostly outside the control of the department, centralized rigidities will continue." 19 Passing over factors within the department, the document explores constraints under these headings: (1) inflexible categories in the appropriations act, (2) the allotment control system, (3) the state's budget system and 16 month preparation cycle, (4) employee contracts, (5) court orders on such matters as provisions for handicapped children, (6) federal requirements governing equal educational

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18 Administrative Manual for Educational Managers, Op. Cit., P. 13.

19 The Department of Education Budget System: An Introduction (Budget Branch, Dept. of Education, Honolulu, 1977). P. 112.

opportunity, and (7) the state government and department-wide rules, regulations, and directives. The two pages of discussion and illustration under those headings conclude:

> In the foregoing list of items, we merely want to show how much of the school's decision-making is already being done by a central authority up above. Even in budget decision-making, unless the Superintendent and the Board are given more authority by the Legislature, such as lump sum appropriations, there is not too much more authority that can be delegated downward to the districts and the schools beyond what is now already provided. 20

It is within this larger organizational framework that district office administration is carried on. Each educational officer in the districts assigns a large part of his bookcase space to the five-foot shelf of laws governing the department, the school code, volumes of policies and regulations, a budgeting manual, curriculum guides, accounting and purchasing procedures, two volumes of approved instructional materials, and departmental rules and regulations. These materials, normally cast in legalistic jargon and having the force of law, are separate from the several manuals and publications cited above. They leave rather little leeway for accommodation to local circumstances; offer even less encouragement.

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20 Ibid. P. 113.

The District Office

The district office of Paradise can be characterized as lean and efficient in comparison to staffing patterns of other districts. While the state office establishment was growing by over 200 percent, the number of educational officers here remained constant, and the size of this administrative staff is only two-thirds that of the most comparable district elsewhere in the state. This neglect of "Parkinson's Law," perhaps the only anarchic manifestation of this formal structure, cannot be attributed to a lack of influence in higher councils, for the agency is well regarded there. The parsimony in administrative staffing seems to reflect a consensus of the stable cadre to assign available resources to educational operations - the number of teachers working out of the district office is disproportionately high - but it may also involve some reluctance to divide or delegate existing responsibilities.

The product of this management team appears to be excellent in routine and material matters. Recent charges of neglect of school bus safety and driver training publicized statewide made a special point of exempting Paradise. Though many of its physical facilities show obvious signs of age and deterioration, per-pupil costs of building maintenance here are substantially below state norms. Complaints about budgetary restrictions on the operation of the schools are standard, but they are uniform throughout the district - testifying to the even-handedness with which the knife is used. School officials and the district staff seem to live within their allotments with a sense that they have received all that the law allows. At no time within the period of these observations has the normal routine of the office been disrupted by a serious budgetary

over-run or drastic miscalculation. The nearest thing to a fiscal crisis has been the normal scurrying around to insure that quarterly allocations are expended before they revert. The Auditor's critical study of the Department made special note of the fact that budget and personnel management, which employ four staff specialists elsewhere, are combined in one individual in this district.

Until the latest of the observations here, the administrative team and most of its secretarial staff in this office had remained unchanged in the previous six years. Educational officers who had served a long apprenticeship in the island's schools were recruited to the district office, in part, on the basis of their known ability to work well together. Consequently, the office atmosphere has been exceptionally warm, open, friendly, and devoid of status distinctions. Except for a few modest perquisites of the Superintendent, assumed as comfortably as his suit coat as marks of that position, carpet and office furnishings are uniform throughout. An "order of succession" lately discovered among old memoranda came as something of a surprise in light of such ambiguous suggestions of rank as have been apparent. The comparatively youthful, business manager on whom responsibility devolves in the absence of the Superintendent and his Deputy prefers a modest interior office to the distraction of scenic views enjoyed by his peers.

References to the administrative cadre as a "team" in external communication were sometimes supplemented by the term, "family," in internal discussion. Acceptance in that group was not something easily gained or lightly risked. Rumors of bickering among members of the secretarial staff, in which distinctions of rank are frozen in

civil service classifications, have not been substantiated in any observed behavior. The ladies of that group draw on a coffee fund to provide cards and flowers if any employee or member of his family is hospitalized, and that ritual is performed with a perfect equity which admits of no allowance for rank, need, preference, or severity of the illness. There are multiple layers of such social forms designed to avoid conflict not easily apparent to a stranger. The gracious tolerance of diversity that island life instills is nowhere better exemplified than in this office. On rare occasions, one may detect a tone of annoyance at remote circumstances, but sounds of personal hostility are never heard in this pleasantly-bland, office climate. Any type of emphatic language is so exceptional as to command notice across its open-topped partitions.

Toward the end of this study, the personnel of this long-established, administrative team were sharply altered in ways which allowed some observation of the impact of personality on roles and role-relationships - or the reverse. A curriculum specialist reluctantly accepted promotion to the position of Assistant Superintendent in the state office, and the head of the special services section retired. Shortly thereafter, the District Superintendent retired and was succeeded by his Deputy. Her position was filled, in turn, by the newly-arrived head of special services. Figure I, on the following page, displays the location of those positions in the office. Except as noted later, the discussion of role relationships and interactions will be based on those established by the team that had served together for so many years.

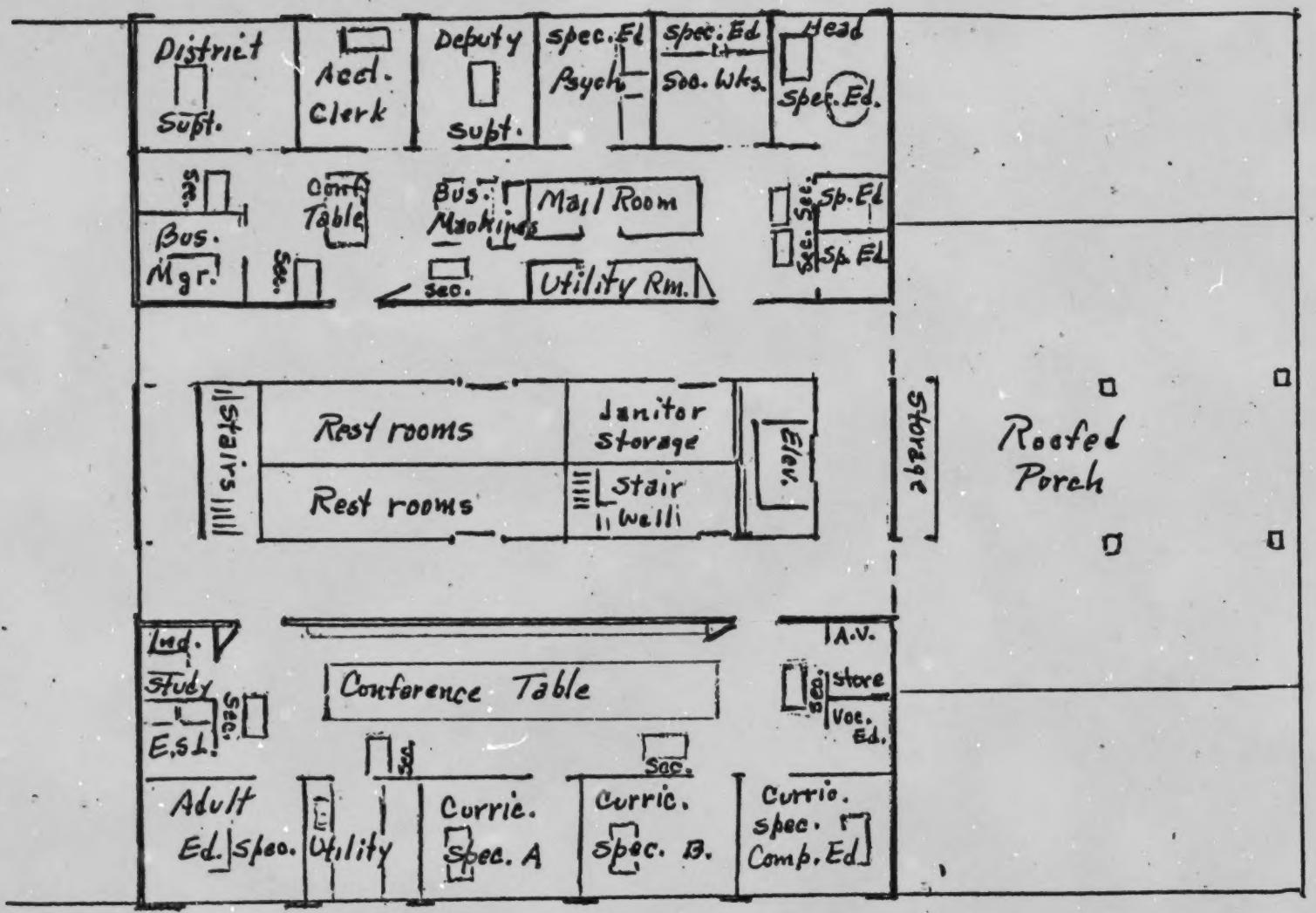

Fig. I. Paradise District Office Floor Plan

Staff Activities

Any tour of the district office diagrammed above or meeting with its staff should start with a courtesy call on the District Superintendent, that pleasant gentleman met briefly on page 25. On entering the busy outer office (lower left-hand corner of the floor plan) one will find his door open. His crisp secretary will be busy with paper work and pose no barrier to his office. That inner office and his desk are somewhat larger and much less cluttered than those of his associates. The Superintendent is comfortable in delegating responsibility to his staff and content to set up a system in which they can do their assigned jobs efficiently. A large part of his own work consists of meeting the public or dealing with complaints of parents about some practice in the schools, and his serene, soft-spoken style equips him excellently for such tasks. He is a gracious man in a rather formal way. He visits the staff in their work areas rather than calling others to his office when some discussion is required or just to ask if all is going well. His courteous inquiries about the work are made in such a way that one hesitates to trouble him with minor difficulties or details.

After a brief, formal meeting with the Superintendent, more specific concern with substantive issues in the district normally leads one two doors down the hall to the office of the Deputy Superintendent. She is an imposing figure whose outspoken style and viewpoint loom somewhat larger than her role and nicely complement those of the Superintendent. His desk looks out across the commercial center to the sugar mill that has dominated island life for the past century. Hers provides a view over the county buildings to the mountains which tower above the bay. Her more than 25 years of service in the district have not

entirely erased some blunt, mainland mannerisms or broader perspectives which distinguish the Deputy from others on the staff. In addition to her role as Deputy, she carries a number of specific staff responsibilities for instructional personnel, school libraries, public information, and programs for "limited English speakers."

The interior office to the right of the Superintendent's neatly houses the staff specialist for business and personnel - the functions which employ four administrators elsewhere. It is commanded by a trim, middle-aged executive who seems completely at ease with the complex forms that attend his duties but rather remote from other educational issues of the office. His style of brisk efficiency and apparent impatience with people who are baffled by budgetary procedures belies his background as a school counselor and one-time baseball star. An avid reader of Business Week, he brings the doctrines of that approach to his varied responsibilities which include planning and budgeting, management of classified personnel, supervision of facilities, school lunch services and student transportation, and interscholastic athletics. The pressure of his duties as well as his temperament keep him apart from participation in most of the casual, coffee-break visiting enjoyed by others on the staff. However, his manner becomes more warm and informal in discussions of political matters which impinge upon his functions. His most frequent office contacts are with the account clerk who occupies the office between those of the Superintendent and his Deputy.

The account clerk is almost crowded out of his attractive office by a mass of files and the impediments of extra duties which include processing the mail, maintaining office machines or supplies, and collecting dimes from those who use the Xerox machine for personal purposes. This cheerfully preoccupied young man occupies a position in between the

all-female, secretarial group and the professional staff. He participates only marginally in the affairs of either group although he may join the administrators for coffee breaks at the small conference table in the outer office. The outer office houses, in addition to the Superintendent's secretary who doubles as office manager, an attractive receptionist-secretary and desks for two part-time clerks. It is an active, working area with duplicating machines that operate constantly and generate substantial traffic from other areas of the floor.

Along a narrow passage leading from the main outer office are crowded cubicles housing the special service staff that works out of the district office. Eight professionals of that group identify handicapped children and deal with cases of truancy, suspension, or early withdrawal from school. They act as child study teams that may combine the skills of psychologists, social workers, speech or hearing therapists, and visiting teachers as the case at hand may require. Given the tremendous increase in problems of delinquency, early pregnancy, student alienation, and school suspension, plus increased pressures for identification and treatment of the handicapped, the work load of this group has increased to an impossible level in recent years. The mass of records on the cases they have seen overflows their office area and fills the storage area on the porch outside. Although the teams come together for weekly staff meetings on the porch, the nature of their field work and the weight of their case loads make them a group apart from the administrative staff, mixing with others of the office force mainly in its Christmas and year end parties. Their insights into problems which might bear on educational planning in the district are transmitted only indirectly if at all.

The head of special services, in the corner office of that section, is a senior member of the administrative cadre, approaching retirement in poor health and with feelings of quiet desperation about mounting problems in the district. His contacts with his own staff and clientele are more frequent than those with his fellow administrators. In spite of his thirty-year educational career here, his mainland background, education, and manner of speaking seem to set him a bit apart from his fellows and their own quite self-contained operations. This slight, soft-spoken educator appears preoccupied with the burden of paper work which attends his function and defensively withdrawn from the human dimensions of that work. His unfailingly polite manner impedes rather than invites discussion of issues, and his coffee break conversation turns on hobbies or post-retirement plans.

Members of the professional staff of special services operate under a fairly loose rein and project personal styles ranging from a hearty cynicism to hopeless resignation as their identifications of need outrun resources available. This writer's four years of employment just across the hall has led to only two significant professional exchanges with members of that group. Two secretaries assigned to that section bear the burden of record keeping generated by its work and, like the professional staff, are not actively involved in the social life of the agency.

Crossing the main hallway (to the upper right-hand corner of Figure I), one enters a large conference room with office cubicles around its outer wall. Just inside the door is a vivacious young woman who manages the district's audio-visual library and doubles as secretary

to the curriculum specialist in the corner office. Her considerable store of educational films has spilled so far beyond its designed storage area as to make her understanding of its arrangement indispensible.

As is the case with his fellow educational officers, the gentleman in the corner office administers several separate programs. These range from ESEA, Title I projects, through science and health curricula at all grade levels, to driver education, but a major part of his workload consists of supervising the state's Comprehensive School Alienation Program. At two week intervals, he meets his alternative school and special motivation teachers at the large conference table. The remainder of his time is largely taken up in drafting reports or travel to meet the eight counterparts to whom he reports at the state office level. His teachers refer to him as "coach" in recognition of the style retained from - as well as distinctions earned in - that role before his advance through a principalship to his present position. His associates joke about his tendency to doze through staff meetings, respecting that energy with which he directs the campaigns of the Congressman from this district. Unlike others on the staff, he seems resigned to the fact that the old ways of Paradise are passing away.

In the adjoining office, a contrasting personality supervises programs ranging from reading and foreign languages, through art and music to vocational and career education. The personal style of this still petite, middle-aged lady conveys a busy preoccupation with literature and the arts and attracts a following among those English

teachers who still contest our local dialect. Her sex, daintiness, and precise articulation - even more than the suspicion that she votes Republican or her Chinese extraction in an otherwise Japanese-American group - set her a bit apart from her fellow curriculum specialists. She is gracious, efficient, and dedicated in conducting workshops for teachers and more convinced than others of the effectiveness of highly structured curriculum packages passed down from the state office.

Continuing clockwise around the diagram in figure I, one passes a pleasant, elderly secretary whose long service and mastery of detail enable her to handle almost any normal request when the professionals are away. One of the two educational officers this lady serves was transferred later, and the position remained vacant for months with little apparent disruption. This testifies to her competence as much as to the routine character of much professional work. In addition to assuming professional responsibilities as required, she covers effectively for other secretaries in this section when they are away from their desks.

Beyond that secretary's station, the next office is occupied by a friendly, soft-spoken man affectionately known as "Doc." Such singular qualities as his doctorate, Mott Foundation fellowship, and hopes for educational reform are said to have delayed his acceptance in the past, but they are never flaunted in the present context. His responsibilities include math and social studies at all levels, various elementary programs, audio-visual services, nominal supervision of the "forbidden island's" school, and the district's testing program. That last function makes him especially sensitive to the academic deficiencies of the district's schools and - as a good listener - willing to share in discussions of educational innovation.

Unlike most of his associates, Doc has a narrow sense of the leverage available in his position and spends so little time in the administrative detail of its functions that they seem almost self-executing. He enjoys tinkering with faulty audio-visual equipment, seeking in that - rather than his administrative role - ways to make a complex system work. His low-keyed interest in all aspects of the district's programs equips him to make constructive contributions to the work of other specialists. (Those qualities, as well as his academic credentials, influence his advance later to an Assistant Superintendency in the state office and his leaving home and family here to accept that larger challenge.)

The last corner office on this official tour is occasionally occupied by a dynamic, multi-faceted man whose formal responsibility is for adult education - a function he defines in a quite personal way. An omnivorous reader, he is surrounded - but not confined - by mountains of paper which emerge from his positions on the boards of several social agencies and state-level task forces as well as his district office role. His many civic activities include co-chairing the campaign organizations of both the Congressman and the Governor in Paradise since their first bids for office. Such activities enhance his reputation as a man who gets things done and provide a license for his somewhat eccentric schedule and approach in which an eighty-hour week may involve less than a quarter of that time at his desk.

The adult education specialist reached his present rank at a relatively youthful age, without rising through the usual principalship, on the basis of brilliant work with retarded and handicapped children.

Techniques formed in that role - working through the family and community while giving his charges freedom to develop their own strengths - continue to govern his present style and relations with subordinates. He combines radical approaches in many areas with a rigidly conservative political philosophy, insisting that "the system does work" while devoting every evening and week-end to making it do so. State-level attempts to subsume the emerging doctrine of "community education" under the adult education structure discovered that he had initiated most of its elements here already, often within the framework of other social agencies.

Most of the routine administrative work of adult education, services to its night school teachers, and many collateral duties of this section are efficiently executed by its gracious secretary, the wife of the specialist's close and long-time political colleague. The charm with which that lady greets the most diverse callers on this office is a vital element in the effectiveness of its varied functions. Developing programs for the gifted and talented and for teaching English as a second language are also assigned to this section and conducted by ladies who work out of crowded cubicles here when not visiting outlying schools. The social contacts of these district teachers, when they are in the office, are most often centered in the coffee break conversation of other ladies on the secretarial staff rather than with the preponderantly male administrative class.

This tour of the district office ends at a cluttered cubicle just inside the hall door in the lower-right section of Figure I. That cubicle houses houses a varied store of adult education files and materials as well as this writer. Its desk, at which applicants for adult

education services are interviewed, overlooks the long conference table and traffic patterns of the outer office area.

This completed tour suggests preliminary generalizations about the office and its staff. The multiple responsibilities of these dedicated educators are assigned to parallel those of a state office which employs ten times their number. Hence, most of their efforts are divided in communication with several counterparts in that distant hierarchy rather than focused on the needs of some local community or clientele. These administrative tasks draw little on their training, educational background, or proven competence. Since the "task force" approach employed at the state level is not used to address local conditions, their ability to work together is seldom exercised in their present assignments. Deadlines for budget preparation may lead these officers to abandon their cluttered cubicles, spread a mass of related documents across the expanse of the conference table, and work side by side in absorbed silence at the projection of their specialties. In one semester, these specialists circulated over seventy memos through the office and to the schools, announcing in-service workshops, school tours by guest experts, artists, or musical groups, and visits by state office officials. In only one of those instances did two or more district specialists join in sponsoring or managing the event.

In style and appearance, this office is quite similar to that of other public agencies on the floors below. Except for ways in which its work is compartmentalized, the calm, air-conditioned climate of the office seems remote from the hectic atmosphere of local schools. Once or twice a year, a small group of delegates to a state student conference or science fair may come to consult with a curriculum specialist. At times, a troubled student and his parents may visit the Superintendent or the special services

section. However, a major point of contact for the staff with the work of the schools comes through their own children while they still attend. Although administrators are reluctant to accept insights not passed up through proper channels, the loss of contact as their children go away to college is acknowledged as significant. Daily activities of the office are ill-designed to sustain a perspective of the whole child, much less one of the learner in his larger environment.

Exactly what these people do varies from individual to individual and from day to day. Some spend hours on paper work and detailed arrangements which others leave to clerks. Some agonize endlessly over report forms and body counts that others treat so imaginatively as to leave time for civic affairs. Two positions, which seem to be in a line of succession, involve a large part of the working day on the phone. It was beyond the intent or methods of this study to explore the problems that individuals solve in their heads and their areas of specialization. The focus of this inquiry was on group or organizational behavior.

One cannot understand the work of the district office by reference to the labors of a construction gang or harvest crew. A more appropriate model emerges from the fellows down at the fire station whose diligent efforts in "fire prevention week" provide adequate time thereafter for reading newspapers, playing checkers, or polishing brass. Nothing at all like a fire alarm which would permit observation of this team in a crisis situation has sounded during the term of this study. Perhaps only someone with the perverted temperament of an arsonist would suggest that "building fires" under some prevailing instructional practices might be a more constructive role for people here.

Staff Interaction

As suggested earlier, the amount of professional interaction within this established team is less than might be expected from their cordial relations and close proximity. Staff members travel, about once each week, to confer with counterparts in the state office or serve on state-level task forces. Administrators in the state office have both staff and line responsibilities, standing above district officers in chains of command leading to specialized areas of the curriculum. However, district specialists are normally limited to staff roles, communicating with teachers through memos drafter for the Superintendent's signature and routed through the principals. Contacts with teachers occur mainly in classroom demonstration projects or the formal setting of in-service workshops in which administrators function as role models of instructional behavior and distribute the numerous handouts sent down from the state office. Direct authority exercised over classroom practice, apart from the compensatory or adult education areas, is largely an accident of personality or a consequence of technical knowledge of administrative detail. Influence on or feed-back from the operating level occurs indirectly in weekly staff meetings with the Superintendent or monthly meetings of the district staff with school principals.

Formal staff meetings are held at the larger conference table with the Superintendent presiding over a set agenda of announcements, budgetary reviews or projections, and reports on events in their own program areas by each educational officer. A review of notes taken on these meetings over a year confirms that these are busy, practical people, impatient with abstractions or generalizations which transcend matters with their control. Most of the content is so dull, detailed, or specific

to one area as to stimulate little discussion. On rare occasions, a staff member will advance a project generated in his own area which has widespread curricular implications. Two examples noted were proposals to expand career education and to institute programs for the gifted and talented. Although both issues have been raised locally so often as to deserve consideration on their merits, each proposal had been initiated at the state level in the present instances.

Both proposed innovations generated an exceptional amount of discussion so defensive as to threaten the usual limits of courtesy observed in staff meetings. This in spite of the modest scope of the suggestions. One might assume that a large part of the present curriculum could be adapted to accommodate career interests or made more flexible to incorporate the efforts of gifted children. However, any such sense of these issues implied adjustments too substantial to admit of consideration. Hence, the initiatives were defined and debated in terms of adding yet another class to a curriculum already perceived as "overburdened by frills." The career education proposal could be thought of as a frill because it was pressed by that dainty lady whose usual interests focused on music and the arts. It was so defined by the staff member whose responsibility for math led him to advocate the District Superintendent's priority - also urged from above - on raising test scores in basic skills. Absent from the discussion was any suggestion that making math more vocationally relevant might strengthen test scores. Unwilling to join his case with a losing cause, the proponent of programs for the gifted contented himself with pro forma appeals and reserved his issue for a more favorable forum which has not yet appeared. The priority on raising test scores, deserving some weight on the recent record, might seem to dictate emphasis on programs for the gifted, but it serves

as a club with which to beat down almost any novelty. Staff members, some of whom are willing to entertain fairly radical ideas of curriculum reform in private conversation, hesitate to advance such notions for general discussion.

In addition to the two inconclusive debates on curriculum noted above, the routine character of staff meetings was interrupted on two other occasions by lively discussions of the structure and character of the organization. As in the case of the curriculum matters, these organizational issues were initiated from without. The first of these debates took place as legislative, press, and public attacks on the "Department of Education bureaucracy" marked the start of the political season and were understandably defensive in character. However, questions of a breakdown in internal communications, lack of consultation between administrators and faculty on curriculum matters, loss of faculty morale and resentment of imposed controls, and the absence of organizational responsiveness were raised. The nature and origin of the complaints made it inescapable that some faculty members had abandoned internal lines of communication and taken their complaints to political channels.

The staff member most recently elevated from the ranks of principal supported the bill of particulars charged and called for the district office to get out into the field, initiate contacts with faculty, follow through on complaints, and launch active internal and external public relations campaigns. A senior fellow defined the public expression of such discontents as "disloyal" and suggested that all who lacked the essential quality of organizational loyalty be urged to quit. General discussion within those boundaries acknowledged limited communication with

faculty and the breakdown of organizational cohesiveness. However, given the rule that staff contacts with faculty must clear through school principals, responsibility for stimulating faculty involvement was assigned to those offices. The Superintendent closed this inconclusive debate by expressing his view that the state's task force approach provides adequate input from all levels if properly used, but he did not propose its application at the district level. In spite of some heated expressions used, this observer sensed a feeling in the staff that the problems aired had emerged in other districts.

Another staff discussion of closely related organizational issues took place in a less threatening political climate. A brief digression is required here to sketch the administrative background of that debate and explore perceptions of the organization expressed by participants. A sense that the Department is top-heavy, inflexible, and authoritarian is so widely held in the state as to have penetrated some segments of the agency itself. Concern for that opinion has led the Board and State Superintendent to proclaim principles of decentralization and participatory management that often seem incongruous in the context. Among the intermittent manifestations of that concern is a program of organizational research, based on the concepts of Rensis Likert, requiring administrators to rate 18 characteristics of the Department on an "authoritarian-participative" scale.[21] A summary of results for the district, obtained prior to the present study, has been shared.

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21 R. Likert, The Human Organization: Its Management and Value (McGraw Hill, New York, 1967). Likert identifies four management systems on a continuum from "authoritative-exploitative" through "benevolent-authoritraian" and "consultative" to "participative," indicating that morale, involvement, and productivity increase as mangement moves to the right on those scales. Retired in Hawaii, Likert has served as a consultant to the Department and, briefly, to this present inquiry.

Interpretation of these survey results must be tempered by consideration of the fact that respondents were fully aware of the outcome desired and live in a culture which inhibits negative comments.[21] Mean responses of the district office administrators placed the organization in the "system 4," participatory category in 17 of the 18 particulars, considering it significantly less than optimal only in the locus of decisions. Responses of school principals averaged one step lower on every characteristic except to agree with district officers that "downward communication was accepted with a receptive mind." Both groups gave the system their lowest ratings on the question of where decisions are made, but the gap between the judgments of the two groups was widest on that question. Individual responses were so widely scattered, with enough judgments falling at the authoritarian end of the scales, as to explain why some people have very little to say in staff meetings with the principals. However, the average response of educational officers to the questions was sufficiently favorable to keep the issues of "team management" and consultation off the staff agenda until quite recently.

The present study has not extended this survey to teachers in any systematic way, but informal discussion with the writer's faculty friends suggests that their perceptions would place the system as far below the judgments of the principals as those judgments were below the ratings of the district office staff. Based on comparisons with other

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21 Data with which to make comparisons with other districts or organizational levels here were not available. James A. Conway reports on the administration of a similar Likert "Profile of a School" to teachers in eleven New York secondary schools. The teachers' judgments of organizational characteristics of their schools were similar to those of principals here. See Conway's "Test of Linearity between Teachers' Participation in Decision Making and Their Perceptions of Their Schools as Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 21 (March, 1976). P. 131-2.

academic institutions observed, this writer would agree with faculty acquaintances in rating the department in the "system 2," benevolent authoritarian category in twelve of the eighteen characteristics of the scale, recognizing that the benevolence normally softens the authoritarianism. In any case, a recent staff meeting indicated that a similar survey has been administered, at state office initiative, to a sample of district teachers. Specific results of that teacher survey have not been shared with this study, but a lively staff discussion of the outcome made it clear that the results diverge sharply from those of the district's educational officers in the direction suggested above.

The complex discussion of organizational characteristics and options which followed announcement of those survey results is difficult to summarize. However, the insights provided into institutional ideology are too significant to omit. There was, at the start, no objection to the major premise of the survey: that workers are more productive when they feel that they are part of a team and that their concerns are listened to. At the same time, several points were raised which limit the application of that principle. District office requests for additions to the agenda for its meetings go unanswered. Most matters come down to the district so "cut and dried" that there is no room for discussion or opportunity for feed-back. Group discussion or participation on such matters becomes a "game playing" which discredits the discussion process. The business manager was most articulate in stating that debate over standardized procedures is a waste of time and source of frustration. Hence, it was agreed that middle management must, at least, weed out the mandates which group involvement cannot alter before encouraging participation.

The business manager's objections were countered in part by a comment from the head of special services that discussion with his secretaries had weeded out some frustratingly duplicative and meaningless, standard forms. However, the position of the business manager prevailed. What was clear was that the staff perceived their agency as a channel for the communication of instructions from above and not for the transmission of objections from below.

A charge that the district office staff was not sufficiently accessible or responsive to teachers' needs was generally accepted, but discussion on that point ran up against the unchallenged premise that the staff must work through school principals rather than approach the faculty directly. Thus, the burden of bridging communication gaps was again placed on the principal's office by district administrators. One educational officer observed that "democratic problem solving" may be an effective approach in a problem-solving organization but not applicable in this agency where the primary mission is direction and control. That too commanded general assent.

The superintendent, who had been silent until then, noted that participatory management was time consuming and uncongenial to some personalities, perhaps as a comment on the instant discussion. That remark triggered another round of more candid comments challenging the survey's assumption that "system 4," or participatory management, was desirable.[22] The consensus which emerged within the group was that

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22 This writer had raised similar questions in personal discussion with Dr. Likert, asking if the "costs of democracy" may not outweigh its benefits in some institutional cultures. Dr. Likert was adamant on the point that "system 4" increases productivity in the long run, whether it proves enjoyable or not. His views are supported by this writer's past study of achievement of even custodial goals in correctional institutions.

general participation leaves "no place for leadership." One senses also that it leaves only a limited role for the types of demonstrated competence by which senior administrators have earned their positions. After further discussion, "system 3," consultative management, was accepted as the optimal arrangement. Thus, the gap between teachers' judgments and the ideal was narrowed by redefining the ideal rather than redesigning existing procedures. Specific judgments of the teachers were taken as valid where supportive but challenged as inapplicable or inaccurately measured where critical of current practice. With that, the general topic of team building was tabled.

Whatever else this staff meeting may reveal about the prevailing institutional ideology, the inability of the staff to perceive the district office as a problem-solving agency and examine its procedures in that light had consequences as devastating for the rationale of this study as for the education of students who have problems adjusting to the system. The meetings summarized above and others observed demonstrate a reluctance to advance, and a refusal to accept, innovations which might cut across existing lines of specialization. The respect these people properly have for one another becomes a respect for whatever is done within their respective provinces. The meetings also display a disposition in group behavior - not always shared by individuals separately - to close ranks in rejecting external challenges to the status quo even if initiated from above.

The formal interactions of staff meetings are, of course, only a small part of the sum of interpersonal contacts within this close-knit group. A far greater number of hours are spent in lunch time and extended coffee-break conversation around the conference table. Courtesy seems

to inhibit "shop talk" on those occasions. The major conversational themes are interscholastic athletics and politics in season - topics on which the "coach" and the specialist for adult education are recognized authorities.

The deep concern these people share for the welfare of youth is more fully reflected in casual visiting than in formal meetings. As just one manifestation, inquiries about one's children replace the conventional greeting, "How are you?" Such inquiries normally bring the conventional reply, but more elaborate responses are not treated as boorish. Since the children of administrators are normally doing "fine," and the question would not be asked otherwise, a ritual repetition of that response may serve to reassure these educators of the health of the system they supervise.

Concerns for the progress of their children are more fully aired in the coffee-break visiting of the secretarial staff at the far end of the conference table. Because their children sometimes do less well than those of the educational officers, their conversations offer richer insights into problems in the schools. A greater mixing of the ranks might be constructive. In two instances, the mention of some obvious inequity in school procedures has moved the superintendent to immediate corrective action. A belief that equality of opportunity demands identity of treatment is so deeply intrenched in e administrative ideology, and generally supported by the public, that any adaptation to local circumstances - whatever its theoretical justification - has limited prospects. To gain a hearing, innovative proposals must be cast in terms of alleviating some unfairness.

One further dimension of office interaction deserves notice. Each year a small number of Paradise students are elected to attend a state student conference held during the winter vacation, and that group is offered the assistance and facilities of the district office in drafting its proposals. Those who seek and obtain the role of student representative are not notably disaffected. Yet, in the course of their being advised, one hears the frequent repetition of what seems to be an implicit major premise of all upward communication in this agency. "All proposals must be in good taste and positive language." There is no place in the organization for someone whose useful function elsewhere is to decry "__it" when that seems to be flowing over the dyke.

A Note on Role and Personality. Because of the limited number of individuals involved, the behaviors noted above might be considered a consequence of particular personalities. Personnel turnover toward the end of this study permits some reflection on that issue. When the Deputy assumed the office of the retired Superintendent, she seemed to present a sharply contrasting figure. However, she quickly assumed the soft-spoken manner of her predecessor in his tours of the working area. In place of his courteously formal inquiries, she tends to inject some event from her own experience as a stimulus to thought. Though she is slightly more directive in chairing staff meetings, the differences are less than were expected.

The man who took over the Deputy's position may well have been selected for his qualities of being the most outspoken and outgoing individual on the staff. His brief tenure as head of the special services section before this last promotion had established him as a stickler for legal requirements, and that quality is also characteristic of the role

he has assumed. He now takes a gruff and hearty interest in the personal welfare of other staff members, a style and interest consistent with prior behavior in the role he now occupies but concealed in his previous position. The lady who followed his brief tenure as head of special services imitates the more aggressive qualities he brought to that office in contrast to the resigned manner of the man who retired after long service there. However, her energetic leadership of the special service staff still leaves her quite remote from the work of other specialists and their management of the regular curriculum. Each of the transitions noted here involved a replacement by someone of a different sex, ethnic background, and place of origin. The two ladies involved were Caucasians of mainland background. There has been so little interruption of normal office routine as to suggest that role prevails over personality.

A somewhat more strained transition was involved in Doc's replacement by a man of similar background from the principal's ranks. The new arrival was a large, unsmiling man who seemed uncomfortable, at first, with the routine courtesies of office interaction and the absence of levers to pull. An accomplished fisherman, he has added delecacies to those shared around the conference table and come to seem more at home with office associates. However, he still displays at times an uncharacteristic impatience with red tape, delay, and consensual decisions.

This section has discussed the visible activities and patterns of interaction which appear in the district office of Paradise. However, to more fully understand what is and is not done there, it is necessary to explore less evident sentiments which both guide and grow out of those interactions. Consideration of that institutionalized ideology will be reserved to the following section.

The Process of Inquiry

The setting described above provided the stage for the present proposal to examine "the product and process of problem-solving in a district office." That proposal was generated by long-standing interests in academic reforms, existing opportunities for observation, awareness that problems born of social change were pressing on the agency, a sense that innovations had emerged within the district, and a multitude of incorrect assumptions. Because the resulting study has been somewhat akin to waiting for an empty pot to boil, it is necessary to digress into the process of the inquiry itself in its search for meaningful conclusions. Despite a decade of involvement in educational matters on Paradise and two years of employment in the office, this writer found that he remained a stranger to its administrative processes and that those processes were stranger than imagined.

Simple observation of administrative procedures here provides little basis for explanation other than superficial reference to the agency's place in a centralized organizational structure. If that provides a plausible account of much of what is done, it neglects that which is omitted. The process of this inquiry, intruding into various specializations, has been something of an antithesis to ordinary office processes. Experience available to the author as participant has been somewhat different than that given to his role as observer. It is in the interaction of various roles that the author's preconceptions have been challenged, other sentiments have been exposed, and this thesis on the interrelationship of ideology and organizational behavior has emerged.

Upon receipt of word that the project would be supported, that word and the proposal were shared with the friend and immediate superior who had often urged resumption of this author's long-interrupted writing career. That friend - the most widely read and innovative member of the staff - dismissed the news with irritation. He had hoped for the publication of case studies on successful adult education students instead of "empty sociological speculation that can serve no useful purpose." The only appropriate answer was that of the bank robber who explained his career by saying, "That's where the money is." However, that friend has provided a challenging dialogue throughout this study from his insistent position that the system is fundamentally sound and that its failures are those of a few weak individuals. He is the most articulate exponent of the belief shared by his associates that the educational and political structures which combined to work the revolution of his youth cannot be seriously flawed. That belief is the mainspring of dedicated public services which extend far beyond the formal boundaries of his position or hours of employment.

The next step in this process was to announce the grant to the Superintendent and leave explanatory documents in his office. Interrupting the announcement with a gracious farewell on the assumption that a position would be vacant, that gentlemen did not seem able to understand that the processes of this office might be an object of serious study. It was difficult to explain that this small grant would be executed in the idle hours of this writer's part-time position. The documents left were eventually returned with the Superintendent's initials and those of his Deputy, but without further comment then or later.

Nevertheless, word of the project circulated quickly through the office and created a coolness in interpersonal relations normally associated with visits by the auditors. Although the preferred term, "principal investigator," had been carefully omitted from the proposal, analysis of organizational processes is so foreign to this agency that any such inquiry is perceived as an "investigation." Activities under that label are known here mainly in a context of hostile political motives. Hence, people normally generous in sharing information relevant to this writer's regular tasks became reserved in the face of more general questions. A request for a copy of a brochure printed for public distribution was held up pending the Superintendent's approval. However, that original chill has dissipated with the passing of time and the more passive character of the participant observer methodology employed.

In spite of reservations sensed in office associates, the next step was to draft a questionnaire-interview schedule cast in the language of "challenge" and "response" for discussion. That form, reproduced as Appendix I, seemed reasonably clear and capable of producing meaningful responses when pre-tested with a small group of competent local students, even though those students lacked the perspective assumed by its questions. The schedule included sections seeking staff perceptions of the magnitude of social change and the adequacy of institutional response, the significance of innovations made and factors contributing to their acceptance, and elements in the situation which either inhibit or facilitate needed educational change. With a single exception, that schedule failed to communicate or to provide a framework for further communication with district office associates.

The soft-spoken gentleman then approaching retirement after 30 years of departmental service and a decade in charge of special services had always seemed conservative and content with the educational status quo. Perhaps as a consequence of his imminent departure as well as the burden of dealing with disturbed children which falls so heavily on his office, he was the only staff member to accept the rationale of the schedule, respond to its questions with care, and discuss its issues in depth. On the proposed scale of 0 to 5, he rated each suggested challenge at four or five, but no response above two. On that same scale, only innovations in special education were rated at three or four, while others were assigned less significance in meeting local needs. He anticipated two other explicit, district office responses and expressed the consensus of that staff in assigning a "minus five" rating to the development of teachers' organizations. He saw such constructive changes as had taken place as having been imposed from above. A key to his apparently resigned attitude was his rating "the inability of anyone to advance solutions" highest among factors inhibiting needed change. Factors rated highest among those which might make educational practice more responsive were the raising of graduation requirements and greater faculty initiative within the present structure.

A candid and lengthly discussion elaborated those judgments. His measure of change and the magnitude of problems faced is the increase of suspensions from ten per school a decade ago to 250 per high school district each year now. In his feeling that the schools face impossible tasks, he shared a sense of the challenges which inspired this inquiry. However, he tended to see problems or failures as characteristic of individual students rather than the system designed for their instruction.

The one structural characteristic discussed at length and with regret was the emergence of the teachers' union with its diversion of energies and lines of communication from problems which require cooperative efforts. He saw the union's major goal as the reduction of workloads at a time when increased effort and commitment were required. This gentleman's response to the major premise of the study - that social change requires institutional adjustment - was that the idea was "interesting." His was the most favorable as well as the most thorough of the responses given.

As gracious and noncommital as always, Doc returned the form with editorial revisions and a warning that the unintended omission of principals among the possible initiators of change might give offense. In spite of repeated urgings and his own interests in environmental and community education, Doc would not offer any substantive reply to the questions posed. In his insistance that this was not a problem-solving organization, he seemed to be saying something which became clear only later. Efforts to pursue the same lines of inquiry with other educational officers were equally futile and less courteously received. Implicit assumptions of the study were so obviously alien, and apparently hostile, to members of the staff that the next step became one of clarifying those assumptions and their alternatives. The distinctions abbreviated in Figure II following were the principal product of those early efforts. The general validity of those distinctions was later supported in discussions with Doc and the writer's friend and section head. They seem further substantiated by their capacity to explain failures and personality conflicts which have attended earlier efforts at innovation in other branches of the educational establishment here.

Figure II

Assumptions Implicit in this Study	Institutional Ideology of the District
What is not prohibited is permitted. Freedom is a natural condition. Initiative and local discretion are to be expected.	Anything not mandated is prohibited. Freedom, like order or justice, is created by acts of authority. Initiative is suspect.
Learning is a natural response to experience of a total environment of which school is a small part. Formal education, to be effective, must relate to and exploit that full range of learning experiences.	Learning is assimmilation - and education the transmission of - established bodies of knowledge and skill. Education is the antidote to barbarities which emerge from untutored interaction with the environment.
Learning and, hence, education begin with a problem or need and proceed through a search for solutions. Educational policy-making should start with identifying problems in a given environment and adapt methods or materials to those problems or needs.	Learning and education are equated with teaching and schooling. Local conditions, as on the "forbidden island," may complicate but should not compromise the transmission of the knowledge delivered. Policy may require supplementary orders but not amendment.
The value of education is and should be measured in its application to the world one experiences. That which fails that test is ultimately lost in transmission. anyway.	Education, beyond the barest essentials, is not necessary to life here. The test of education lies in preparing students for the future and for opportunities which lie beyond the shores of Paradise.
The role of a district office includes adapting methods and materials to local circumstances, and neglect of that suggests some failure of communication or institutional malfunction.	The role of a district office is to enforce compliance with State and Federal policy, police performance in the field, and direct communication to and from offices above. Departures from that role imply malfeasance.
There is a sphere of administrative discretion within the wider realm of political directives and some decisions are subject to strictly administrative analysis.	Decision-making is inherently political, so discretionary acts have both political and administrative implications. No analysis of a discretional act can be politically neutral.

Those who would bring novel approaches in education to these shores will be well advised to study the reefs charted in Figure II which lie beneath the calm surface of administrative consciousness. This unusual line of inquiry, like prior extraordinary ventures in learning, nearly went aground on hidden obstacles. The assumption that one could gain the assistance of this staff in comparing successful and unsuccessful adaptations to changing local conditions proved unworkable. One might as well have proposed to study pilferage of office supplies - something which does not occur in the setting and would not be discussed if it did.

Frustrations generated in the early stages of the inquiry prompted a withdrawal for reflection and consultation with friends and scholars elsewhere. Cordial visits with an old friend serving on the State Board of Education provided new perspectives on the workings of the district and its place within the statewide system. Other friends on the public administration faculty at the University of Hawaii shared their perceptions, encouragement of the study, and a copy of the Auditor's report. That document and the Department's Administrative Manual had not been seen previously in the extensive collections of codes and guidelines of the district office. These materials and consultations provided the first perceptions available of the rigidly centralized and authoritarian character of the Department. The Manual's chapter on "cooperation" is aptly illustrated with a drawing of four smiling figures, each seated on the shoulders of the one below. The Honolulu conferences also exposed the view held there that the Paradise District exercises rather less initiative - less accommodation to those "differences due to

geographic, population, and community makeup" mandated by the Manual - than the admittedly narrow limits of discretion presume. Complaints of a lack of energy and imagination on the part of subordinates seem to characterize the highest as well as the middle levels of management.

On returning to the island, further discussion with a principal, several faculty members, and students provided external perspectives on the district office and its place within its larger structure. Participation in the aborted organizational efforts of a local P. T. A. offered a view from the community level of the modest end product of the bill to bypass the bureacracy and appropriate "special needs" funds directly to the schools. The executive committee of the P. T. A., composed of all in attendance, approved without discussion the Principal's proposal to order texts for a class already scheduled and a cot for the nurse's room. Elsewhere, the procedural constraints imposed upon the application for or uses of that half of the appropriation eventually released by the Governor caused principals to call on the district office for guidance in drafting equally prosaic requests. Considerable further time was spent in discovering and exploring the maze of departmental documents within which district discretion is confined before turning to that office again with less obtrusive procedures of inquiry.

By that time, the original study had been amended to recognize that it was rarely observed cases of nonconformity, rather than adjustments to social change, which posed "problems" for district administration. The modest inquiry had been expanded by the inclusion of questions which transcend the scope of standard techniques of administrative analysis. How, after two years of employment in this office, could one be so wrong

about the most critical assumptions of this study? How, after painfully discovering the ideology which constrains administrative behavior here, could one remain unaware that this was reflected in or from such a mass of explicit, departmental regulations? Perhaps more significantly, how, in a setting where temperament and regulation combine to inhibit any non-conformity, can one account for significant adjustments which have occurred and inspired this inquiry?

The first two of the questions above may be answered in part by reference to the author's ignorance and prejudices - and to the generous tolerance extended to such qualities in this culture as long as one minds his own business within the narrow specialization of his position. The position from which these observations are made is located in an adult education section relatively peripheral to the management of regular school programs. The position itself is one of several exceptional adjustments to local circumstances generated by a section head who gives his subordinates a freedom of action unmatched elsewhere in the Department and confirms that by assuming the risk of irregular administrative practices. His practices include placing post-dated notes in one's personnel file, claiming that he had approved such independently initiated oddities as the application for the present research grant. Working within the small enclave of autonomy thus created led to misperceptions of the agency as a whole. However, these positional biases provide only partial answers to the questions above. They provide no answer to the further questions of why other dedicated district officers believe as they do and confine their committed efforts within limits narrower than those the system permits or requires.

Prior misperceptions had been further reinforced by a close relationship of this section and its head with the section and educational officer responsible for compensatory education activities. Both sections are similar in dealing with clientele on whom the system as a a whole seems to have given up and in conducting programs apart from the regular school schedule. As such, these sections are somewhat apart from the chain of command which permeates the regular educational structure and less burdened with administrative overhead either here or in the state office. Several alternative approaches which had emerged in the Coach's section were supported by federal funds, administered more flexibly under a remote authority in spite of the double burden of paper work that use of such funds entails. In working with his alternative education faculty, the Coach exercises a more active leadership than that displayed by other curriculum specialists, but the initiatives apparent in these special programs do not seem to characterize the standard curriculum areas also under his supervision. In any case, the adult and compensatory education sections are, and are widely recognized as, the principal source of those innovations which have responded to special needs and local circumstances here. Apparently significant was the related fact that the distinctive individuals who head these sections hold higher "rank" in the state's political structure than in the educational establishment. The close, informal cooperation they alone display in their educational tasks extends to - or may have originated in - their political roles.

Answers to the questions posed by this reconstruction of the problems of the study have been sought in reading, reflection, and observation of administrative processes in a somewhat wider sphere

than that of the office itself. Reading included examination of the mass of constraining administrative material from which the peculiar nature of this writer's position had shielded him before and academic publications, most of which seemed quite remote from the situation at hand. Reflection has been stimulated by an intermittent correspondence with advisers in the sponsoring Institute and scholars elsewhere, but also supplemented in community contacts. The custodian of a local high school moonlights as a service station attendant. One hears more far-ranging (and profane) speculation on educational problems while filling a tank of gas than staff meetings provide in a month. The search for hypotheses was followed by analysis of several administrative "cases" to which the writer's position has been exposed.

A Quest for Hypotheses.

People of other ethnic origins note the preponderance of Americans of Japanese ancestry - and the success of their children - in this educational system and suggest that its institutional ideology may be the heritage of a culture marked by exceptional deference to authority. Such suggestions are understandably offensive to those Americans who proved their character in the face of similar slanders during World War II and ever since. However, because much administrative orthodoxy has assumed some anarchic individualism in the American temperament and would be superfluous in its absence, the cultural hypothesis seemed to deserve consideration.

As noted throughout, the behavior of district staff members is marked by courtesy, generosity, loyalty, and a sense of obligation

to an exceptional degree, and those qualities may faintly reflect the feudal culture from which their parents came. (Those qualities are now widely shared in the cosmopolitan, island society.) It was the ability of Japanese immigrants here to sustain their own churches, schools, and sense of community which enabled their sons, more than others, to grasp the opportunities of a more open society when that emerged. Quite apart from their ethnic antecedents, senior educators here came of age in an era when these islands were dominated by an authoritarian oligarchy and any dissent was dangerous. However, the prominent role that many of these people played in displacing that oligarchy and in building the institutions of an open society belies any inherent authoritarianism. The intense localism and concern for tangible, proximate matters in other civic roles is the very antithesis of what Kornhauser identifies as an authoritarian syndrome.[23] Indications are that the office ideology is institutionally - not culturally - induced; that it is a product of organizational structure, career lines, and - perhaps - selection procedures.

The passing of time has, of course, given a conservative shade to the social convictions of these senior educators, and their desire to sustain an aging status quo seems different from the spirit with which they once challenged a prior order in the building of this educational system. Conservativism, however, is something quite different from the institutional ideology of this office. The fact that social change is perceived as a threat cannot account for its being ignored with passive

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23 William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1960). Ch. 4, P. 102 ff.

indifference, nor is that the characteristic response of conservatives elsewhere to bureaucratic inertia or cultural transition.

At mid-point in these observations, challenge to the political order with which nearly all these educational officers identify stimulated dynamic, cooperative, and highly effective responses entirely at odds with - and at some expense to - normal administrative routine. Early in the campaign, one could see two/thirds of this administrative cadre standing on the roadside at dawn, holding placards and placing their public stature at the service of their convictions. As the campaign matured to an uncertain outcome, the entire staff, including secretaries and their families, mobilized without a whisper of coercion to march four abreast, like "liberty on the barricades," in the parade to the Governor's rally. Of the district's official family, only the Superintendent and his Deputy refrained from that public partisanship. However, such disproportionate displays of energy suggest to teachers, some of whom hold different loyalties, that the district office is more political than is, in fact, the case. They alerted the observer to explore political as well as administrative aspects of educational management.

Observation of district office associates in their civic roles demonstrated that submissive, if not compulsive, conformity in educational matters is not a facet of more general cultural or temperamental tendencies. At the same time, that observation left open the question of where the institutional ideology originates. The tendency of administrative initiatives to be even narrower than the rules permit gave pause.

The fact that state office documents which emphasize the singleness of mission, rules, and direction in language reminiscent of "ein volk, ein reich, ein fuhrer" postdate the attitudes of conformity suggested that the documents reflect, rather than generate, the ideology. Officials who make constant use of their "Code of Authorized Courses and Curricula" and refer to that as the "bible" are barely aware of more general documents describing the Department's character and seem embarassed by their authoritarian tone when that is brought to their attention.

The search for hypotheses eventually led to the consideration of parallels in the writer's early studies of the culture of correctional institutions. In the most authoritarian prisons, the society of men confined clings to a sense of its own autonomy - a belief that "the cons are running the joint" - by regulating its own behavior within the boundaries of official tolerance by self-imposed sanctions more savage than those available to its custodians. The central element of the convict code in such institutions is that every man must "do his own time" and that problems must not be communicated to officials above. In those institutional cultures, however, certain men of proven stature, frequently called "politicians," enjoy a license to ignore that code when the community's interests require that. [24]

Officials here often seem imprisoned in narrowly specialized roles and confined by premises transmitted through organizational lines of communication. If the suggested parallels hold, an employee might enlarge his sense of freedom by narrowing his definition of his role -

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24 Richard McCleery, Policy Change in Prison Management (Governmental Research Bureau, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1957).

by not "butting his head against the walls"- and by reciprocal agreements not to intrude on the roles of others. If that were the case, it could account for the impression of a wider range of discretion than is, in fac employed. It could explain internalized constraints more confining than formal regulations but not referred to that source, and it could account for some individuals being less bound by the code than others. It could account for the apparent hardening of the institutional ideology in a period in which increasing student alienation has intensified the Deparment's concern with custodial controls.

If the notes above seem to color this institutional culture in varied shades of grey, that is not an adequate description of its members. At every level of the organization, one finds individuals who have displaced significant creative energies - once addressed to educational tasks - into social, artistic, or cultural as well as political activities apart from their institutional position. (In spite of the relative freedom of this writer's position, some such displacement may account for the present exercise.) In some instances, energies invested elsewhere expand the learning opportunities available within the formal academic program. To illustrate, the active leadership of educational officers within the YMCA has been vital in the development of a modest, "outdoor education" program sponsored by that agency. Creative efforts of a school principal - the one most eloquently frustrated by organizational constraints - have stimulated a Community Theater program to replace the dramatic productions which were significant high school activities in the past. More often, however, energies invested elsewhere are lost to the educational enterprise.

Retreat into narrow role definitions and safe routines seems to be a characteristic reaction of middle management in an institution under attack. The reaction is more pronounced when one's sense of responsibility for agency outcomes is narrowed by a "staff role" to begin with and minimized by the growing emphasis on centralized control. An atrophy of initiative under circumstances in which that is most needed (the charge addressed by each level of the hierarchy at those below) leaves the agency ever more liable to attack and exaggerates defensive reactions into a deteriorating cycle of bureaucratic inertia. The end result is a situation in which dedicated educators tend to perceive social change as an excuse for failure rather than an opportunity for achievement. Staff members of proven competence seem to "do their own time" while looking forward to retirement, avoid any action which might "bring on the heat," and diligently turn cranks to which nothing is attached.

Despite exceptional qualities of warmth and graciousness which characterize this office, a principal source of hypotheses about administrative behavior here has been prior studies of the culture of correctional institutions. Whether this reflects the narrowness of the observer's background, general qualities of bureaucratic life, or simply the recent concern for the breakdown in student discipline remains unclear. In any case, the sub-culture of the high schools, unrelieved by the civilizing rituals of the district office, increasingly approximates that of a custodial institution for a predatory leisure class in its most restless years. Faculty preoccupation with order and discipline has largely displaced concern for academic achievement without obtaining either of those goals.

Cases for Analysis.

The writer's work in this office, although not in an administrative position, has permitted involvement in a number of its administrative processes and provided some first-hand data for analysis. The first such exposure - to employment practices within the Agency - created a deep if misleading impression of the flexibility possible in the organization.

After two years of handy-man, odd jobs and blacklisted unemployment, the writer reluctantly approached the adult education specialist - a professional and political acquaintance from the past - for help in finding work. The employment policies of private contractors doing public jobs here are thought to be subject to political recommendations. However, the prospect of work in an educational system known to be hag-ridden with credentialism and badgered by unemployed, certificated teachers was too wild to be imagined. Nevertheless, the response of that educator was an order to report for work in the adjacent cubicle the following morning. Formal confirmation and reimbursement were processed through the usual mechanics of the system some months later. In spite of periodic dismissal notices from the state office, citing the lack of proper credentials, the position has survived to date.

The position thus created became an instrument of the adult education specialist's personal policy of crediting achievement apart from class attendance. The "independent study" option had no parallel elsewhere in a state where payment for instructional service was based exclusively on class-contact hours. Although the energy and influence of the administrator have failed to equip the position with any instructional materials other than pencils and paper diverted from office supplies, he has

provided almost absolute freedom for devising and advising learning strategies appropriate to individual students. Occasional contacts with the adviser are required and some tutorial assistance is provided if necessary, but student accomplishment is validated only by G. E. D. and other standardized, objective examinations. This approach has opened a chance to earn the diploma to "drop-outs" whose circumstances or attitudes prohibit traditional class attendance. It has doubled the number of adults earning the diploma within the district while raising average test scores from somewhat below to substantially above national norms. . .

This part-time position was so sheltered from standard routines that two years elapsed before it was again directly involved in the administrative processes observable beyond its open cubicle. A state-level task force had labored long to operationalize the concept of "credit by examination" for the schools and brought forth a ponderous product which has since collapsed of its own weight. Copies of that plan were sent down to the district along with response forms transparently designed to coerce an appearance of assent under the guise of consultation. One of those forms was assigned to this position - less with regard to the incumbent's 25 years of applicable experience with the subject than out of concern with meeting the district's quota for responses.

Limits of space and the merits of the proposal forbid a detailed critique here of the plan sent down. Suffice to say that the plan lost sight of its central concepts in a maze of make-work administrative detail. It ignored existing procedures along with every

relevant educational consideration, and it proposed unmangeable burdens on state and district offices while omitting any faculty participation in its design. The response form accompanying the proposal was drafted to parallel the document line by line and entrap a respondent in its context. Boxes were provided in which one might check "agree" or "disagree," with a slightly larger box for comment in case disagreement was indicated, but no space was available for remarks on the overall plan or the considerations neglected.

After repeated urgings from the Superintendent's secretary, it seems that the required quota of agreeable replies was returned. Rather than fill out the prescribed form, this writer drafted a candid and concise memo which was fortunately intercepted by his immediate superior and returned with a suggestion that it be cast in more "positive" terms. In a week of concentrated effort, a critique and alternate plan was drafted to achieve the stated goal and others more efficiently at a fraction of the administrative costs of the original proposal. The detailed draft was grudgingly accepted as a substitute for the response form sought, and it disappeared into the maw of the upper bureaucracy without a trace or an acknowledgment.

Private conversations later with the head of the state department office involved, an old acquaintance, revealed that he was no more able to discover what happened to that alternate proposal than was its author. As disclosed in those conversations, some people at the highest organizational levels agree that its communication processes function, and may be designed, to filter out information in conflict with self-serving

preconceptions. Perhaps as a consequence of those visits, a response form supplied with the next program issued under the signature of that official included space for several lines of general comment and reaction. However, in spite of a substantial amount of discontent expressed orally at all levels, two years of searching among agency documents failed to unearth one line in writing that might challenge the communication and policy-making processes of the agency. While administrative policies impinge on every detail of instructional practice, the most vital administrative processes remain sacrosanct.

As a further test of institutional communication patterns, comparable memos on educational issues were addressed to offices of the Governor, state and federal legislators, members of the State Board, the National Institute of Education, and various offices within this Department. Every such message directed outside the Department brought a courteous, thorough, and thoughtful - if not always prompt or affirmative - reply along with requests for further communication. The only memo sent through departmental channels that was ever acknowledged was one given to the District Superintendent who, on his retirement some months later, mentioned that he had passed it on to his successor. These and other inquiries lead one to believe that, in spite of the masses of paper transmitted, inadequacies of the formal communication network inhibit policy making and give exceptional weight to personal, informal contacts. On occasion, those informal contacts serve to bypass the people who live in a paper world designed to insulate their assumptions from experience. While such personal contacts may solve specific problems, they do not alter the closed character of the decision-making system.

Later, at the close of a bitterly fought, primary campaign, the head of adult education took leave for a stomach cancer operation delayed almost too long, and some of his responsibilities devolved on this writer. That provided an opportunity to trace one novel idea through the administrative process to its conclusion. Declining enrollment in the schools statewide and the rumored availability of further federal funds had moved state office staff to advance the concept of "community education" and obtain a preliminary grant of $44,700 matched by "in kind" contributions for its development.

Principal components of the Community Education Development Project (media campaign, district workshops, mini-grants, a state conference, and evaluation) had been built into the grant application, but these were further refined by a state office planning committee before district coordinators were named. Goals of the project had been defined as creating awareness of CE concepts, recognition of needs, integration of CE into the department's adult education structure, and establishing the Community Schools - as the adult education programs are named - as facilitators for the development of community education. The project was to be carried through in conjunction with faculty of the University's College of Education who were working to develop a Community Education Center there. The definition of community education to be publicized by the project consisted of "criteria governing grant awards" excerpted from the Federal Register. Thus, in its larger dimensions, the project assumed from the start the character of a federally-funded, state-wide lobbying effort to lay the groundwork for further grant applications.

Detailed tasks assigned to district coordinators were clouded by a certain ambiguity. On one hand, they were instructed to proclaim that community education was already a function performed by the department's adult education programs; on the other, they were to solicit community needs that would justify expansion of those programs. At the same time, in order to counter staff fears of a further dispersion of educational resources and efforts, they were instructed to concentrate on ways in which community education could serve the needs of the schools. As became apparent later, those ambiguities as well as differences within the districts made reports returned to the state office an unintelligible mass of contradictions.

The principal responsibility assigned to the district's adult education specialist as coordinator was to organize an advisory group of "local school and community people" to work with state project personnel in conducting the district workshop. That group, to which this writer was named, was formed prior to the coordinator's leaving and consisted of a dozen people mostly from outside the department who were already involved in community education activities here. The group was somewhat different than the assembly of local notables apparently expected by education professors who arrived as "consultants" and workshop staff. Before continuing this community education narrative, it is necessary to summarize the status of such activities on Paradise.

Functions which might be considered community education are colored here by the intense localism of the island's sub-communities and the modest role of central leadership as evidenced by the failure of the county government or community college representatives to return after the planning group's first session. Formal adult education programs

here, as in other outlying districts, are mainly limited to basic literacy and citizenship classes for immigrants and the limited diploma program for adult dropouts. It is true that some of our Filipina, basic education teachers, with the encouragement of the program head, have performed wide ranging services for their compatriots, sometimes at the expense of the department's "Planned Outcomes of Instruction." However, most of the activities recognizable as community education have gone by default to such civic organizations as were willing to assume them; and most of those organizations are ones on which the adult education specialist sits as Chairman or member of the Board. Thus, community, consumer, and nutrition education programs, along with day care, tutoring, and Head Start, are programs of Paradise Economic Opportunity, Inc. for which this specialist chairs the Board. English, sewing, craft, and music classes for the elderly are provided by Paradise Senior Centers, Inc., a private organization on whose Board he has served from the start. In those and a dozen other privately sponsored activities partially assisted from his office, the adult educator has been better able to achieve his goals outside the department than within it. The results, though perhaps inadequate by ideal standards, appear well ahead of any other district in the state.

As a result, the visiting academic consultants who arrived to direct the planning of this district's workshop were confronted with a situation and a committee quite at odds with their prepared doctrine of a community education program integrated in and controlled by the department for the benefit of the schools. Workshop planning sessions proceeded at crossed purposes and considerable expense in travel and housing for the

visiting dignitaries who, by the third session, came to include the state adult education director. The committee, bored to tears by theoretical abstractions, dwindled to those with the closest personal and organizational ties with the district specialist. It appeared impossible to find on Paradise an audience for the ceremonies originally proposed and, as a final dinner meeting approached midnight, an antithesis emerged and was accepted. A workshop was planned in which people actually engaged in community education activities would present their programs to a presumably captive audience of the district's educational officers. The site chosen was one of the County's Neighborhood Centers in which participants could observe activities in progress. With the District Superintendent's approval, the workshop was scheduled in place of a regular staff meeting.

Traditional courtesy and the refreshments provided by participants prevented the workshop, moderated by this writer, from being a complete disaster. Representatives of various civic agencies appreciated the sharing of information about fragmented activities. However, half of the district staff and principals could not imagine an event scheduled off the department's premises as being "official" or related to their functions, and they did not attend. Those present sat attentively as in any instructional setting but made no move to observe the Center's ongoing activities. Educational officers huddled in a group to talk shop during the lunch planned to be shared with senior citizens present. Evaluation forms returned were cordial but quite clear in indicating that community education was not seen as a departmental function and that the integration of existing activities into the department was not desired. Little interest was expressed in pursuing the subject further.

About one-fifth of the grant received had been reserved for demonstration "mini-projects" in community education throughout the state, and a maximum of $2,000 was available for some such project within this district. The limited funds, available only to established adult education programs, constrained radical innovations and insured that a proposal could do little more than enhance some existing activity. Three proposals from Paradise, processed here for decision by the state office, each centered on day-school student activities. One would involve students in a survey of community resources. A second would engage students in production of a documentary on the sugar industry as an orientation for newly arrived immigrants. A third would extend a parent education class already focused on teen pregnancies in the schools by, as originally worded, providing a better car for the instructor. The third proposal was funded.

In its next phase, the Community Education Development Project convened a gathering of state office people, district planning committees, and other citizens and educators on the University campus. The Paradise committee, expanded to 20 people by the inclusion of civic leaders, was housed along with similar groups from other outer islands at a Waikiki hotel. The conference, involving some 400 persons and budgeted for about one-third of the grant, opened with a banquet before being addressed by the State Superintendent and other dignitaries. The most prosaic administrative gatherings at the district level normally include a communal sharing of food, but the more opulent affairs at the state level seem almost designed to induce a suspension of disbelief. In the present instance, this expensive exercise aroused a certain skepticism in one who had begged and scraped for pennies in an earlier effort to keep a "storefront campus,"

community education project alive. After-dinner speeches affirmed the moral support of the Department for community education and the hope that might resolve major problems of the schools, encouraged hopes for further federal support while indicating that no state funds would be available, and recognized certain university and departmental pioneers whose long efforts had brought the movement to its present fruition.

The following morning, participants dispersed among workshops on a variety of activities which had been grouped under the community education heading. Ten workshops featured "mini-projects" in process, prior activities addressed to "violence and vandalism," "reducing absenteeism," or use of the community as a career lab, and more general exhortations, including advertisment of the university's budding "Resource Center for Community Education." Another workshop, limited to two official representatives from each district, was a planning group assigned to work on "needs assessment and the future" and, after two hours, to present its report to the conference. This writer was assigned to that group. Deliberations of that "key" committee were delayed by a problem inherent in most community education efforts here: forty-five minutes of its scheduled time elapsed before its assigned classroom could be unlocked for use.

When this planning session finally got under way, its selected delegates from various districts were assisted and outnumbered by ranking leaders of the Department and College of Education whose introductions involved prepared remarks. Briefing materials on community education needs, supplied by the professor of education who moderated the discussion, emphasized needs of the College for a Community Education Resource and Training Center above even needs of the Department for new administrative positions. In spite of that firmly structured setting, abbreviated

remarks by district delegates on the needs of their communities were so diverse that they refused to homogenize or jell into any report to the conference other than the recommendations with which the senior staff had begun.

As noted above, the project had initially allocated its funds to components of a media campaign and an evaluation. Apart from brochures distributed to conference participants and inaccurate press coverage of remarks by the principal speaker, no evidence of the media campaign has appeared. A series of reports to the public by the State Superintendent, carried by the Honolulu press, made no mention of community education in its chapter on community relations. The focus of that chapter was to show that a breakdown of community life poses impossible tasks for the schools. No formal evaluation of the project has been circulated, but, as in the case of other departmental processes, a simple count of the number of participants involved may be used as the basis of applications to extend the activity. Perhaps as a consequence of funds saved on media and evaluation components as well as the failure of the planning workshop to function, a "Post-State Community Education Conference Follow-up Workshop" was summoned some weeks later to meet at a Waikiki hotel.

The fifty selected participants in that follow-up workshop were drawn mainly from the department's administrative ranks, but a representation of community workers from outside the department was included. After the dinner and introductory speeches, the group in this less-structured setting engaged in the long and open discussion of community education concepts that had been inhibited by the closed agenda of prior meetings.

The bulk of that discussion, dominated by a vocal minority of community people, challenged the intent to preempt community education to the service of the schools and the idea of integrating such functions in the Department of Education. The discussion, spiced with repeated attacks on "DOE bureaucracy," could be summarized as saying, if education is not too important to be left to educators, the community is. The education professor presiding at this meeting seemed far more distressed by these lengthly digressions than were the administrators as the content of the discussion departed from its prepared summary.

Next morning, the assembly was divided into two work groups: one group of senior administrators to work on organizational implications of community education while a second addressed community needs and programs to meet those. The first group, joined by this observer, worked at length on charts of the state office organization without communicating with the second. Its recommendations were to expand the title of a state office section to include community education and add one staff specialist to promote those functions. Adult Education specialists at the district level would, in turn, have their titles enlarged to acknowledge such responsibilities, but the idea of adding personnel at the district or school levels to execute programs was dismissed as impractical. Those recommendations, not yet acted upon, represent the only apparent product of a substantial administrative process.

Sections above have described activities and interactions of a district staff, the progress of this inquiry and sentiments thus exposed, and certain administrative processes available for observation. Taken together, these provide the data for analysis. With the collapse

of its original assumptions about challenge and response, this study pursued explanatory concepts along with and beyond its search for data. The events set forth in sections above have been observed and organized only in terms of Homans' concepts of activity, interaction, and sentiment or the author's biases. Hence, the adequacy or representativeness of these accounts must be left to the judgment of the reader. To the extent that the observations do not speak for themselves, their analysis was delayed while a search for concepts which could aid in extracting their meaning was continued. Such will be the organization of this report. However, the facts described above make it quite clear that the same events, viewed in the light of different sentiments, would be perceived in different terms.

A Look at the Literature

This has been primarily an empirical study of administrative behavior with limited access to a scholarly literature on its subject, and the articles available provide few parallels with the substance of this inquiry. One may accept the Legislative Auditor's 400 page critique as adequately indicating the gap between departmental structure and either legislative intent or orthodox principles of public administration. Materials written by and for practicing educators and at hand on Paradise have not, on the whole, seemed adequate to account for the behaviors observed. Some more general articles have, however, both cast a suggestive light on these data and generated reflection back upon the sources.

The failure of administrative orthodoxy to apply here is not for want of trying. From 1970 on, goals of the department have been fixed

in its eight "foundation program" objectives, and its administrative policies as well as the training required for teachers or staff have been rationalized in pursuit of those objectives. At the start, the educational objectives were stated in broad and unarguable terms, and the means for obtaining them remained relatively open. With the passage of time and the expansion of the state office, those original goals have been crystallized into increasingly detailed curriculum materials, instructional practices, performance expectations, evaluation procedures, and reporting requirements. As this progressive specification of objectives reflects a selective emphasis on basic skills, it constrains the adjustment of instruction to individual styles or local circumstances.

James March has explored major premises of rational behavior and organization in an article which offers a persuasive case for a theory of foolishness.[25] He identifies fundamental assumptions in a model of adult or administrative choice as "given" or pre-existing goals, consistency of behavior, and rational selection of means. Noting that a substantial amount of human activity involves a search for goals, March contrasts the administrative model with a theory of children in which the child - in the name of education - is forced to forgo present desires and subjected to planned experiences expected to produce more mature and humane values in the future. His thesis is that more interesting and humane organizations might emerge if the model of administration were adapted to include the theory of children and an agency was designed to explore its own experience in the refinement of its goals.

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25 J. March, "Model Bias in Social Action," Review of Educational Research, Vol. 42, No. 4. Pp. 413-429.

The alternative models developed have widespread implications for a bankruptcy of liberal institutions which occurs with a progressive substitution of means for ends, but they seem to have more particular applications here.

However far this department may depart from administrative orthodoxy in its structure, its processes clearly reflect the biases of the organizational model March describes. It functions and seems almost designed, on the administrative level, to preserve its objectives from examination as it translates those into increasingly rigid prescriptions. In what may be an inherent contradiction, it functions at the operating level to impose those prescriptions on children with little regard for the felt needs, goals, or circumstances of the participants involved. Test results and classroom climates indicate that this is done with a reasonable degree of success with more dependent and easily controlled younger children whose own goals and values remain ill-defined. It is manifestly less successful with older students as goals and values obtained in their wider range of life experience become more articulate. Perhaps more significant is the fact that, with the decline of other contacts, administrative communication with the faculty is increasingly confined to workshops conducted in classrooms and a context in which faculty resume the role of students subject to instruction. The result is to further minimize feed-back by which administrative goals might be refined in the light of experience, while the faculty - in other settings - expresses much of that alienation which marks a growing proportion of high school students. As March suggests, this agency might function better if it had more regard for evolving values at lower levels of the hierarchy and were less defensive about those above.

Karl Weick has developed a concept of "loose coupling," widely used in theoretical articles but apparently unknown here, for the analysis of educational organizations.[26] In that discussion, Weick notes characteristic gaps between administrative intentions and outcomes and the fact that the bulk of instructional work remains unsupervised and uninspected. On the evidence here, it seems that, where training and certification are rigidly controlled, close inspection is superfluous. Among the implications of his concept is the idea that a complex organization which is tightly linked and controlled in some respects must be loosely coupled in others if it is to function effectively. One of the suggested research questions raised is how participants "make sense" of a loosely coupled agency.

Observations throughout this study have indicated that educational officers have very little direct contact with teaching faculty in those areas of the curriculum for which they have nominal responsibility. However, their complaints, like those of supervisors at every level of the hierarchy, go to a lack of initiative and imagination rather than eccentric behavior. Such supervisory contacts as do occur take place mainly in classroom workshop situations in which the educational officers resume old roles as teachers in the transmission of state office designed curriculum materials to teachers who are cast again in the role of students. It seems clear that control is inherent in institutional structure and ideology rather than direct supervision.

A considerable amount of instructional behavior is clearly akin to the mass rising of the crowd at a ball park when the anthem is played.

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26 Karl E. Weick, "Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems," Op. Cit.

A refugee from some oppressive regime would be seriously in error if he attributed that conformity to the presence of uniformed attendants. Much of the uniformity in classroom practice is conditioned by the ringing of bells, coreced by peer pressure, constrained by shared sentiments, and confined by what is possible in fifty-minute periods with blackboards and chalk. The sentiments which emerge with those activities are not invented by administrators to inhibit radical innovation. They emerge out of habitual activities, preserve accustomed patterns of interaction and the illusion of freedom which comes with narrowly defined roles, and would persist if every educational officer resigned. Rather than being imposed from above, many of the conventions of instruction are carried with experienced teachers in their rise through administrative ranks, and adherence to shared sentiments is an evident factor in promotion. In those circumstances, direct inspection of classroom practice would be redundant and is omitted. What is lost in its absence is the possibility of a more active, administrative leadership and perspectives which transcend the limits of classroom walls.

What, then, is the role of middle managers in that loss of initiative which they almost unanimously deplore? A thoughtful commentator on drafts of these notes has remarked that the degree of instructional uniformity described would seem to imply "a double shift of enforcers and inspectors to carry the burden of all the top-down initiatives recited." In fact, middle management embodies and disseminates the institutional ideology to a degree which makes close supervision superfluous. Apart from the fact that they seldom inspire initiative, the ways in which the staff constrains that quality can be summarized as follows. They serve as models for the rewards of conformity. They communicate the concept of

compliance with detailed, state-office, curriculum directives while filtering out a rationale which might allow selective application. In their commitment to "positive" language, they buffer such negative feed-back from below as they may hear. They edit budgets or projects proposed from below to minimize their impact on established instructional practice and veto suggestions which might disrupt their own domains. Perhaps most important, they leave subordinates feeling, "If highly paid, obviously dedicated, responsible administrators can't buck the system, what point is there in our trying?"

The requirement that staff communication to faculty must pass through the Superintendent and principals reflects preoccupation with lines of authority and chains of command rather than educational results, but it serves - by building filters into the system - as a strategy for inaction as much as for control. Superiors are made superior by virtue of their command of more information - if not more direct experience of instructional problems - than is available to subordinates.

With the passage of time, however, behaviors involved in schooling - those of students if not of teachers - do come to reflect changes in the larger environment of life and learning. As time-honored convictions fail to function in that changing context of behavior, those convictions are imposed with increasing energy from above in detailed instructional prescriptions and inspection of results by statewide testing programs. These prescriptions and inspections emphasize just what senior educators consider basic to academic achievement at the expense of what many students consider relevant to their experience and their future. What this study first perceived as administrative inertia in the face of environmental

change might be better defined as momentum. It is an intensified, linear projection of time-honored practice through this centralized administrative structure while the world of experience turns out from under it.

In its physical characteristics, this structure is a loosely coupled system, most obviously in the physical distance which separates operations on this island from the state's central office in which initiatives are generated and rules are made. In response to Weick's question about how participants make sense of a loosely coupled system, experience here suggests that they imagine and, hence, perceive structure and constraint where none exist. Responding to the model of those aspects of the system which are most rigidly centralized, they create a set of internalized controls which make close supervision unnecessary and dynamic leadership essential. Weick suggests that rigid linkages in some aspects of a system will lead to an uncoupling of management and operations in others, and he makes a persuasive case for the flexibility and effectiveness of loosely-coupled systems. His relationship may hold here in reverse. The weak linkages in supervisory structure seem to be supplemented by ideological rigidities which tie instruction to tradition and uncouple that from the environment in which learning occurs.

John Meyer has elaborated Weick's thoughts on loose coupling between education management and operations,[27] and he has joined with Brian Rowan to explore cultural factors which account for institutional structure.[28]

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27 John W. Meyer, Notes on the Structure of Educational Organizations (Mimeo., Feb. 1975). A paper prepared for the National Institute of Education.

28 John W. Meyer and Brian Rowan, Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony (June, 1976). A draft of this suggestive paper was shared with this study by the Institute.

These papers, like other scholarly works, draw heavily on observations of administration in institutions of higher education, but they include rich insights into the management of public schools. They note that educational administration is mainly concerned with the management of facilities and categories (teacher certification and assignment, student classification and attendance) rather than production functions. They note a feature frequently remarked by teachers here that the training required bears little relation to an instructor's classroom role, and they note that uniformities observed in classroom practice are less a matter of administrative controls than of expectations widely shared throughout society. Meyer and Rowan account for the rise and growth of rational, organizational superstructure in large part as a ceremonial reaction to myths of rationality in an institution's environment and see formal structure as a design for enhancing institutional legitimacy in the eyes of both participants and constitutents. Their argument suggests that agencies preoccupied with legitimation will tend to buffer formal structure from the uncertainty of operations by decoupling structure and activity. They expect that administrative efforts at evaluation will be as perfunctory as the visits of accreditation teams normally are.

In attempting to apply those concepts to the present case, one is forced to admit that there is a ceremonial element in much administrative procedure and that cranks are not connected to any matter of educational substance. However, it is difficult to relate the elaboration of this administrative structure to expectations held by its public constituency. The agency once honored as the cutting edge of a social revolution is now regarded, in the most widely published editorial accounts,

as an insensitive bureaucracy engaged in graduating students unable to write or count. In incorporating such elements as competency testing or community education in its structure, it is not responding to cultural myths or expectations held in the community. Instead, it engages in expensive and often futile public relations campaigns intended to win public acceptance for its efforts. The environment to which it responds in the borrowing of such procedures consists of parallel institutions elsewhere.

Administration here has intruded on the operating level with canned curricula and the detailed evaluation implicit in a statewide testing program. As Meyer and Rowan suggest, the consequences of that evaluation have been to delegitimize the agency as its test results are made public and to atrophy the good will requisite to coordinated action. One often hears in informal contacts with faculty a cynicism more articulate than that expressed by alienated students. Such cynicism is almost entirely absent in administrative ranks. Activities which might be regarded as empty ceremonies there are carried out with the most sincere dedication. Much of the Meyer and Rowan thesis seems to apply, but there are other aspects in which it fails. It is necessary to bring additional concepts to this situation.

In contrast to the distinction between legitimizing ceremonies and instructional activity, William Spady poses a different dichotomy which, with some amendment, may apply here. He writes:

> School systems, like all formal organizations, must contend with two competing sets of forces: those focused on system productivity and those that stress maintenance and preservation of the organization. . . . The challenge to administrators is to manage and support both systems without impairing

> the effectiveness of either. Given the inherent differences between them, this is an extremely challenging task. 28

Why "extremely challenging?" Reconciling contradictory imperatives of cost and quality, speed and safety, production and morale, or custody and rehabilitation is inherent in any administrative process. A problem in Spady's formulation lies in its implication that the educational bureaucracy is a neutral object caught between external forces. However, the pressures for institutional maintenance do not originate in the social environment of the agency. They are implicit in sentiments generated by activity and interaction within the agency itself. They are embodied in administrative ranks which constitute an articulate, well staffed and funded, interest group with a near monopoly over lines of communication to the policy arena. It is the educational bureaucracy which preempts concepts of professionalism to institutional maintenance while dismissing pleas for productivity or responsiveness as "politics." A body of recent writing celebrates the essential role of principals in effective education. Perhaps that is because school principals are at the highest level of the educational hierarchy at which it is possible to balance those competing claims. Rather than being caught between pressures from two sides, the principal is caught between pressures from above and below. Those with sufficient strength and courage compromise those forces if they can and if the weight of institutional superstructure is not too great. Casualties in that office on Paradise suggest that courage is not enough.

The substantive dilemma of education is one shared by the Pentagon

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28 William G. Spady, "The Concept and Implications of Competency-Based Education," Educational Leadership, Vol 36, No. 1 (Oct. 1978). P. 17.

and the British industrial establishment. Can an institutional structure sanctified by the fact that it won the last war accommodate to the necessities imposed by the next? Or, as in the case of Chrysler Corporation, will a failure to adjust to changing needs of its clientele drive it to seek further federal subsidies and the controls those entail?

Some special demands of educational administration on organization theory emerge from the semi-sovereign power to license or provide a widely desired public service. In public utilities with monopoly powers, one sees a tendency to raise rates to cover administrative inefficiency and resist innovations which would permit the public an alternate source of supply. If one were to simply imply motives rather than examine the dedication of those involved, he might suspect a conspiracy to limit production in order to administer prices. In any case, a principal response to changing circumstances in this state has been a proliferation of administrative positions beyond what might be expected in an institution subject to market forces. That quantitative change in the size of the administrative establishment has been associated with a qualitative change in the character of the agency and its product.

Neither the visible evidence nor the analytic concepts available to this study have been adequate to explain all that is done and all that is not done in the education of Paradise. At the heart of the problem and the heart of this institutional structure lies an ideology which the study is forced to confront with such tools as are at hand. Administration is built upon that rock like an institutionalized religion founded on faith. It is true that the establishment, once founded, defends its faith with processes of personnel selection, training and indoctrination,

reinforcing rituals of communion, orthodox doctrines, sanctions against heresy, rewards for the elect, and alliances with other agencies of the state. However, the administrative structure which constrains activity here was not imposed on educators by forced conversion; it was created by them. It cannot be understood apart from the faith on which it was founded and by which it is maintained. The ideology so thoroughly institutionalized here appeared prior in time, as it appears prior in importance, to the structure in which it is incorporated. Just as the practices of a church are calculated to prepare one for a life beyond the present, educational practice here is designed to prepare students for a life beyond this island.

At a relatively late stage in this study, a paper was received which supplied some points of entry for the analysis of ideology. In discussing relationships between fundamental research and teaching, that paper examined the perspective of educational practitioners under four headings: (1) a view of reality, (2) a vision of the achievable, (3) know-how or technique, and (4) commitment to act.[29] The assumption that fundamental research can alter those perceptions may be rejected as a myth enjoyed by those who labor in institutions of fundamental research, but the distinctions remain useful. As applied to the life of this writer and his associates, a view of reality and vision of the possible are shaped by early, formative experiences, and the fourth, if not the third, of those dimensions is derived from the first two. Once formed, the view of reality and vision of the possible determine what evidence of research

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29 Report of the National Academy of Sciences to the National Institute of Education, "Fundamental Research and Education," reprinted in part in Reflections and Recommendations, Fourth Annual Report of the National Council on Educational Research (1978). P. 42 ff.

or the senses will be accepted as relevant. However, with those conceptual distictions in hand, it was possible at last to undertake an analysis of the institution and its ideology, the origins of that ideology in past experience and its implications for present practice, the things permitted and those denied, the basis of such innovations as do appear, and the apparent gaps between administrative intentions and classroom outcomes.

The analysis to follow will examine this institutional structure and its evident consequences, but it will explore such evidence as is available in search of things unseen. Its conclusion will attempt a strategy through which learning may come to enrich schooling, administration may come to the aid of beleaguered faculty, and educational institutions may become more sensitive to the environment and experience of youth.

Analysis and Conclusions

Observations within and prior to this study indicate that increased public support, managerial effort, administrative consolidation, staff development, and technological advances have been associated here with a steady decline in measured academic achievement. This in spite of a growing emphasis on measured achievement at the expense of qualities no less rich for being non-objective. Given the finest skills that pooled resources and central management can command, uniformity of treatment has produced neither equality of opportunity nor improved academic outcomes. It has neither overcome the handicaps nor exploited the opportunities presented by local circumstances, but it has sapped the initiative of teachers and students alike. At the cost of spontaneity, it has cast educational practice in a mold of remote, if not obsolete, perceptions of reality widely rejected here. Yet it is our students rather than those practices that are judged in the light of failing test scores!

That the analysis has struggled on to this point suggests the writer's belief that he has conclusions to declare, even as it raises suspicions that those existed at the start. Those of that character should be stated first. The association described between centrally mandated uniformities and declining achievement can be challenged by contrasting value judgments. What this writer has found and judged to be a comprehensible setting of rare beauty and cultural richness, others have considered backward and culturally disadvantaged. The gap between Paradise and an urban world, taken here as a blessing, can be regarded as a handicap and used to explain any educational failures. Without our recent improvements, where would we be? Perhaps wherever our expectations lead us.

Sub-standard achievement in rural areas is a state-wide phenomenon which educators here often explain in terms of isolation or minimal environmental stimulation, even though jet age tourism has vastly complicated the environments of old plantation communities in recent years. At the same time, declining performance is frequently attributed to television viewing which has done so much to reduce isolation and expand the perceptual horizons of island youth in the last decade. Such explanations, taken together, add up to having one's cake and eating it too.

A task force largely composed of state office administrators recently completed a two-year study of graduation requirements, premised on a recognition that class attendance was not insuring achievement. Along with its endorsement of competency testing, its main recommendation was to add two more required courses and credits for graduation. Their report congratulated the Department for its use of a "systems approach" in the assessment, analysis, and improvement of core courses in the curriculum. Then, in the passage immediately following, the report includes a section entitled "External Factors" which recites difficulties which instruction must overcome.

> In Hawaii, as well as nationally, schools have been forced to expand their services to include responsibilities which were previously considered not to be within their domain. Moreover, several factors beyond the control of the school system have placed additional demands on it. The compulsory attendance law . . . has resulted in schools having to provide for students who might have left school if it were not for the legal requirement. In addition, widespread and indiscriminate television viewing, the increased rate of mobility among people, the decreasing correlation between levels of education and job promise, and the unionization of school personnel

> have all had their effects directly or indirectly on student motivation and achievement. These factors have accentuated the differences among students who already differ in innate abilities, degrees of motivation for learning, and the kinds of experiences they have at home, at school, and in the community. 30

That passage, quite representative of the "view from the top" of the educational hierarchy, gives pause in more than just its call for more prescribed courses and competency tests standardized statewide in response to the diversity noted. It treats everything from its accumulation of "frill courses" through the organization of its faculty and the motivation of its students to the vocational irrelevance of its curriculum as external factors beyond the control of the school system. What are the dimensions of the system thus conceived?

It may be easier for any large corporation to diversify instead of upgrading its central function. An establishment that happily incorporated educational "frills" while failing to teach the "basics" now has those frills to blame for its failure. Compulsory attendance laws, in fact most often honored in the breach, respond to the system's failure to enlist voluntary participation in a culture that counts education among its highest values. Television has become the favorite scapegoat for failure in the schools. An organization which has failed to adapt to modern modes of perception and communication complains because children turn to an alternate learning experience with fascination and delight. Administrators blame the union. However, it was the inability of a centralized bureaucracy to respond to faculty needs which gave rise to the union. In short, much of what the establishment defines as "causes" of its failure can be seen as "effects" of its own intransigence.

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30 Report of the Task Force on Graduation Requirements (State of hawaii Department of Education, Honolulu, June, 1978). Pp. 3 and 4.

Years of contact with experienced educators committed to contrasting views have done more to articulate than to erase certain prejudices with which this inquiry began. Those biases have been honed in the experience, and honesty demands that they be displayed at this point. This study proves, if nothing else, that those who cannot accept such notions will not be persuaded by what follows.

> Learning is a normal human activity, occuring in interaction with one's experienced environment as "naturally" as one masters a capacity to hear or speak. Schooling is a small but potentially significant part of that larger learning experience to the extent that it relates to a person's perceived environment and imagined future. Just as cultivation may enhance natural growth, education may enhance the learning experience by enriching one's perception of his world and vision of the future, but the key to effective education lies in the learning experience rather than in teaching methodologies. Failures emerge when education is equated with schooling or educational administration with the management of schools to the exclusion of the larger learning environment. Then, children who have learned to hear and speak in infancy and in the most impoverished homes complete elaborate curricula unable to read or write.

As we approach the condition in which some remote office dictates and evaluates each detail of what a child shall learn, learning becomes increasingly remote from life. Is it any wonder that the child chooses life? Apart from the ethical-political premise that "equality of opportunity requires identity of treatment," it is hard to see what anarchic tendencies in this culture call for the extreme degree of centralization found. Any presumed economies are outweighed by the time and costs involved in processing the simplest purchase; many transient opportunities are lost. Yet, the exhaustion of local resources or a tendency to kick difficult problems upstairs may make Hawaii's educational structure a portent of futures elsewhere. Hence, it may be useful to review some probably unintended and partially recognized consequences of that arrangement here.

Given the concentration of management functions in the state office, it may be considered inevitable that the countervailing power of teachers' organization, activity, and demands has focused on that single source from which response can be obtained. Lines of communication which transmit the most significant faculty concerns now bypass the district office and leave administrators here talking mainly to one another. The infinitely detailed, statewide contracts produced by skilled negotiators for both sides at that level do more to constrain responsiveness to local conditions than the weight of bureaucracy itself. Nor are negotiations conducted there softened by the deep concern that district staff and teachers share for the welfare of their students. Work rules established at that distance lack the flexibility that good faith would permit in arrangements made among those engaged in a common task. It is the contract drafted in a remote setting, rather than direct contact with teachers so diminished in consequence, that leaves district officers feeling that professionalism is lost, that attempts at leadership would be rebuffed, and that expectations of faculty initiative are hopeless. Such contacts with faculty as do occur are primarily workshops in which administrators, resuming the manner of classroom teachers, transmit orders from above. Otherwise, staff people await requests for assistance from teachers which do not come.

Given the concentration of management functions in the state capital, no amount of constitutional tinkering, legislative interference, or Board of Education pronouncements can resolve the anomalous position of the Department in the state's governmental-political structure. Any

pretense of professional autonomy or lay control notwithstanding, Education remains one of the several executive agencies under the Governor's direction and the control of his Department of Budget and Finance. Educational policy-making, elevated to that level, cannot avoid being caught up in diverse political currents which swirl around the state's powerful executive. Elaborate and time-consuming fiscal and planning processes within the Department of Education are duplicated in equal detail elsewhere in the executive branch. It is this duplication of functions which seems to account for the appearance of two parallel hierarchies within the Department itself, one devoted to keeping this complex structure under control and a second with enough access to the executive's inner circle to evade such controls when necessary. And it is the cyclical interaction between those surprisingly congenial hierarchies, each devoted to making the other's task impossible, that accounts for continued proliferation of administrative positions. The politicization of the Department under these conditions is a necessity that would have to be invented if it did not exist.

The dual hierarchy within the Department is now harmonized by a consensus of support for that organization which gained the governorship and contributed so much to education in the last sixteen years. State Superintendents come and go, but that organization has remained, and the political consensus that supports it is strengthened by recognition of the chaos which would ensue if the Governor's office fell into other hands. Community studies from Elmtown on have suggested that a separation of education from politics is a futile if not pernicious prospect, and it is no part of this author's profession to employ the

term, "politics," as a dirty word. Such innovations as have proved responsive to local conditions here have emerged from the more political wing of this district office and the hands of men who have developed their own political base. This suggests a superficial generalization that one who advocates novelties must first go into politics. Such was the cryptic advice, "everything is politics," regretably ignored when this writer attempted to introduce strange ideas in education here a decade ago.

The parenting of innovation requires "will" as well as power. The men who have made a creative difference here are no less conservative than their fellows, but they are conservative in a wider sense. They are men whose creative energies have sought a wider stage than the district office and their narrow roles there can provide. Others here have sought outlets for energies stifled within the bureaucratic structure, but the choice of politics makes a difference. The commitment some men have made, at personal expense, to that broader range of community service provides them with a far wider range of interaction and exposure to human needs as well as a license to escape the confining routine of administrative detail. Those interactions arm them with the will as well as the strength to cut through red tape or tradition to provide services and make the system work. In a culture where every service confers an obligation no less strong for being unspoken, such services are bread upon the waters. They do make the system work.

The point here is not to decry the political aspects of educational administration. The purpose is to point out that the political agenda of the state is something different from that of an island or locality. An educational system that must organize to compete for a

place on the state's agenda loses, if only in the length of its lines of communication, a capacity to react to local needs and opportunities. In the process, it leaves an impoverished local politics to haggle over building permits by the exclusion of educational issues, the interests most widely held in the community. Meeting local circumstances with statewide legislation or administrative policy is akin to swatting flies with a mattress, but doing that in a culture which demands uniform application of every principle suffocates local initiative.

A significant consequence of extreme centralization here is to leave educational decision-making out of phase with the insular localism of community leadership. Moribund PTA's, like the student governments of a bygone era, wrestle with issues of no more substance than the color of crepe paper with which to decorate the gym, and the Advisory Councils appointed to substitute for more active public input seem little more than selected instruments for the transmission of administration policy. As noted above, a statewide teachers' union has emerged to communicate the faculty's demands, if not its educational concerns, to central authority, but no equivalent agency mobilizes public interest. Expression of those concerns appears only in newspaper polls, the latest of which still puts problems of public education first and fourth in a list of 59 issues surveyed.

As linkages and controls are tightened within the complex, centralized organization, instruction becomes ever more loosely coupled with experience in the home, community, and environment in which the bulk of all learning occurs.

As indicated throughout, the concepts of systems theory had little application to this district office. Challenge cannot be equated with response. Dramatic changes in environmental "input" - plus legislative attack, parental protest, teacher militancy, and student alienation - have no more impact on the agency than punching a haystack. Where does the law of conservation of energy apply? Such implications of systems theory as do hold in this analysis appear in strange ways and at higher organizational levels. Paradise is not alone in its transition. The jet age has placed the entire state in a period of change and diversification. Given the centralized character of the organization, protests generated by the failure of education to adapt to diverse local environments cumulate, at the state level, as little more than diffuse or contradictory discontent. Pressure exerted in that form does little more than further inflate the expanding educational bureaucracy.

Officials in the highest levels of the hierarchy are not oblivious to the problems that exist or lacking in energy to address those. The Assistant State Superintendent for Instructional Services has admitted in legislative hearings that 20 percent of high school graduates leave functionally illiterate and five percent do not read at all. (The performance of high school drop-outs met in this writer's position is more encouraging than that.) In recognition of such problems, the growing, state-level establishment labors long to elaborate detailed curricula and instructional programs which leave even less room for faculty imagination, individual differences, or adjustment to local conditions. Thus, the pressures of protest eventually return in a way that renews the cycle of discontent.

In contrast to systems theory or organization charts, the course of this inquiry suggests that organizational life proceeds in circles rather than straight lines. Somewhere between social pressures and expected organizational outcomes lies an institutional ideology - a legitimation of the status quo - so powerful as to confuse effect with cause, teaching with learning, control with leadership, bureaucracy with professionalism, and growth with achievement. It is that ideology which research must recognize if it is to understand the disparity between educational efforts and results. A substantial amount of administrative behavior must be understood in terms of that ideology rather than evident needs or intended results.

A discussion with a senior offical raised the hypothetical issue of some learning experience so powerful as to create its own "teachable moment" and an intrinsic motivation to pursue its subject to the end. Those involved agreed that a few such events had been formative influences in their own lives. The question was posed as to how such an experience, if it were available, could be introduced into educational practice. The response was that one would, first, schedule a teachers' workshop to disseminate the practice. At that point, the condition was imposed that the assumed event was of dimensions which could not be contained in regular classrooms or scheduled periods. The reply, apparently given in all seriousness, was that nothing further could be done. Another such discussion raised the actual case of the high school in that area most seriously impacted by social change where student discipline and academic failure had both reached crisis proportions. To the idea that school might be dismissed while the faculty, educated people closest

to the situation, were assembled to seek solutions, the response was, "Nothing must be allowed to interrupt the continuity of instruction." That in a situation where the continuity of life experience is a shambles. While the possibility that this writer was being kidded cannot be entirely dismissed, official behaviors combine with such expressions to suggest that senior educators are governed more by principle than circumstance.

A partial point of entry to those controlling principles has been provided by Homans' demonstrated interrelationships among "activity," "interaction," and "sentiment." With the growth of the state establishment, district office activities become increasingly specialized. A considerable part of the administrative process seems to serve little purpose except to stabilize interactions among those almost unrelated activities. It has been said that the Greeks spoke so much about "moderation" because they had so little. The same may be suspected about the emphasis on "teamwork" here. In any case, the considerable amount of interaction around coffee breaks and ceremonial sharing of delicacies is almost devoid of professional content. Staff functions are so loosely coupled with either teaching or one another that neither events nor commands can obtain a leverage to move the structure as a whole.

It seems clear that specialized activities and largely self-contained interaction patterns not only isolate the staff from the impact of events but generate sentiments which sustain existing practice. Most prominent among those sentiments is that of mutual respect. Unlike the case of industrial workers, the "code" of this office places no limit on how hard one can work in his role. Instead, it limits the scope of those efforts to a sphere which must not impinge on the work of one's fellows,

just as teachers are constrained from carrying a labored lecture over into another person's period.

In that and other respects, the sentiments which emerge from established roles and interactions combine into an institutional ideology which has more to do with maintaining existing relationships than with the management of learning. The reader must constantly remember that these are people whose private conversation and personal efforts express both deep and broad concern for problems of education and the welfare of youth. Those concerns are somehow lost in their collective action. The structure and sentiments which constrain administrative behavior conspire to make the whole far less than the sum of its parts. This study shows that adherence to administrative formalism is lower in those staff members whose interactions encompass the widest range of civic roles. It is improbable that anything can alter the institutional ideology without substantially changing activities and interactions - perhaps to the extent of assigning administrators to substitute duties in the schools or even to joint efforts in environmental education.

However, the sentiments reflected in and reinforced by institutional roles are equally intrenched in patterns of communication - most obviously, those which limit direct contact with schools and faculties. A concept which emerged in past study of prison cultures - research conducted among guns and barbed wire - indicated that "authority" is less inherent in individuals, positions, or the instruments of force than in patterns of communication.[31] Institutionalized authority resides in the

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31 Richard H. McCleery, "Communication Patterns as Bases of Systems of Authority and Power," Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison (Social Science Research Council, New York, 1960). Pp. 49-77.

system of communication which defines a situation in terms which participants accept as major premises in the logic of their own behavior. No man can stand against that. Environmental change or human need are meaningless until they are perceived, defined, and communicated as organizationally relevant. As illustrated in the proposal for "credit by examination," the administrative ideology is reflected in the data that forms for response require and protected by that which they ignore. For those removed from direct contact with learning in the classroom and community, it is the information emphasized by requirements for reporting which equates education with attendance and achievement with class-contact hours. People are less influenced by what they are told than by what they are required to report, and the largest single element of administrative time goes into the preparation of reports.

The concepts above suggest how an institutional ideology becomes intrenched but fail to show adequately how that originates. For that, one is forced to turn to the notion of symbiotic relationships. The first such relationship here - that of educational administration with the faction which has held the Governor's office for a generation - is too local to generalize and too elaborate to explore in full. By way of summary, our educational leadership came of age while participating in a socio-political revolution which overthrew a century of dominance by plantation oligarchies. The watchword of that revolution was to open careers to merit by providing equal educational opportunity, and among the first careers so opened were those of the present senior leadership. The outcome of that revolution was a massive endowment of public education and the belief that equality of opportunity required identity of

treatment. As the political revolution matured in an expanded range of public services, it opened thousands of professional and governmental roles to those who continued their education through the public schools and the universities. Those newly opened roles are now largely filled, but they are filled by people disposed to buffer the educational ideology from attack.

In order to fully understand the institutional ideology, one would have to share the experience of senior educators in their formative years. In order to understand the limitations of that ideology, one must compare the world experienced by students now. The convictions from which present practice derives made excellent sense in a certain era and social context. Hawaii has emerged from an age of social discrimination that could only be countered by an equalization of educational opportunity. It has passed through a time when higher education offered almost the only escape from the dreary peonage of plantation life, and it was reasonable to standardize instructional practice against the norms of college admission. In the shabby confines of a deteriorating, rural, mill village, and in the absence of alternative futures, a motivation to achieve and escape that little world was built into the situation of the student.

In those days, opportunity could be equated with education, and education could be equated with the type of formal schooling which prepares one for further schooling in the minds of faculty and students. The heritage of that era leads educators to impose uniform standards on every instructional setting and define the standards as those of college admission. Other things are dismissed as frills. Students who aspire to those standards are accepted, and others are perceived as

failures. In the context of an earlier period, learning related to experience of the immediate environment could lead only to the dead-end life of labor in fields controlled by a closed managerial caste. Outrage at the early tracking of some students into vocational training has transferred the bulk of such training to the community colleges but left the schools devoid of interest for many who do not aspire to higher education.

Educational administrators, and a substantial element of their constituents, still believe devoutly in the dreams of the last generation. They accent the college-prep curriculum and expect their children to find, in a college degree, the same avenue to opportunity that offered in their youth. In spite of disruptions created by their alienated peers, those children who can share that vision of the future still do well in school. The fact that Hawaii now has a large, unemployed surplus of college graduates and a serious shortage of competent craftsmen or technicians does not come home to all. Such facts do come home to a growing number of those who cannot share that older vision of the future.

The children of Paradise are growing up in a visual environment vastly more complex and enlarged by the advent of television - a world in which illiterate athletes earn millions and TV repairmen make more than teachers, lawyers, or dentists. No longer do they see the drudgery of plantation work as the only alternative to academic achievement, and therein lies the "corrupting influence" of television. More immediately, however, they see the unexcelled beauty of Paradise overlaid with the glamour of resort hotels in which high school dropouts earn more in tips through the dinner hour than teachers make in a day. They see half the faded, failing stores along the highway turned into tourist

traps by people who quit school to make shell jewelry. In contrast to the concrete jungle of urban life, they - like the influx of recent arrivals - see their island as an increasingly attractive place to live, but they see little in their studies that can further that ambition. They see people with college and graduate degrees lined up at the Employment Office and the Department of Education in search of work. Is it any wonder that they fail to see their teachers, or their teachers' careers, as role models for imitation?

The perceptions and commitments of senior educators are firmly rooted in the realities of their own youthful experience. These are "realistic" people, concerned with concrete, tangible things like chalk and erasers and agendas. They are not "ideologues" absorbed in metaphysical abstractions. There is nothing wrong with their perceptions that might not be cured by closer interaction with the learning environment and experience of the youth of today. Unfortunately, the structure of social action in which administration takes place conspires to elevate decision making above, and isolate decision-makers from, such contact.

A second, critical symbiotic relationship which serves to sustain and refresh the institutional ideology is that between the Department and the University's School of Education. That relationship seems quite different from that between a university and one of many small, autonomous, local districts. In size and resources, this state department substantially outweighs the College of Education. By providing the major market for graduates and determining what courses will be accepted for certification, the department is able to exercise considerable influence on what is taught. While the connection between education courses and

the actualities of teaching is as obscure here as elsewhere, the importance of the education curriculum for socializing new teachers in the institutional ideology cannot be doubted. One measure of the indoctrination involved in those studies is the contempt openly expressed by experienced teachers for the courses they are required to take to upgrade their certificates.

In addition, as illustrated by the exercise in community education reviewed, the department's ability to share grants and confer consultantships influences the choice of those ideas to which the college extends the blessing of its endorsement. The result is a history and social science constructed by education professors and somewhat at odds with those taught in other departments of the university. Finally, in addition to controlling the instruction accepted in the original certification of teachers, the department specifies those courses in educational administration acceptable for advancement in its ranks. This seems to insulate some senior educators from concepts of learning and management, such as those employed in the present analysis, which have been commonplace in liberal arts curricula for years. The educational substance of this research can be summarized best in a remark made by the Coach. "We fail when we try to make students over in our own image."

This has been a study of administration. It was no part of its task to tell teachers how to teach. There has been too much preoccupation with teaching and courses on teaching methods at the expense of concern for what, how, and where people learn. One key to the problems of education here is that administrators remote from the life and environment of learning intrude too much on the particulars of education. The

fact that most of these administrators were brilliant teachers in their own less-structured time only arms them to impose their own perceptions of reality and vision of the possible upon current practice in a changing world and people who cannot share those essential premises of a commitment to act. When those impositions fail to reverse the academic decline, administrators preempt, as in the project for credit by exam, ever more of the initiatives which must be an inseparable part of a learning experience and blame subordinates for their lack of commitment. The particulars of education are best left to those who are closest to the world as experienced by students and farthest from the institutionalized ideology of administration.

Much of what needs to be challenged in this context is that which worked so well in a vanishing era. Is there, then, anything that can be generalized from this so special place? Although its specific outcomes may be different here, or magnified by the devotion with which these people serve, the interrelation of activity, interaction, and sentiment or ideology may well be common to all organizational behavior. The structure of administrative life produces a logic and an ethic of its own - a culture different from, if not hostile to, the life of learning. Hence, in administrative life, as in this paper, one cannot take intensity of effort or depth of conviction as a test of truth. Truth and value are qualities to be sought out in each unique situation, and one's heart declares that there are more of those qualities in Paradise than have yet been discovered.

The central concern of this study has been with <u>bringing education back to life</u> - relating instruction to realities experienced by students in their immediate learning environment. Its principal conclusion is that this concern is, and can be, no part of the mission of this district office as

presently constituted. To the extent that education is brought to life at all, that must occur at the school and classroom level in spite, rather than because, of administrative controls. This study has done little more than explore historic and structural antecedents of an institutional ideology and its administrative consequences. The significance of its finding remains to be explored in the classrooms and corridors of our schools, but that exploration goes far beyond the vantage point and resources of this small study. All that can be advanced along those lines are hypotheses drawn from experience within the organization, work with dropouts, and consultations with friends.

Lest the frustrations transparent in these notes produce a false impression, it must be emphasized that educational outcomes on Paradise are not seriously bad as compared with more impoverished or deteriorated situations elsewhere. Measured results, given these ideal conditions, ample resources, and dedicated efforts, are only marginally below those of the state as a whole; results for the state are just somewhat below national norms. The failures implied are not so much in relation to national norms as in relation to the potential of the situation and the efforts expended. The civilized political and administrative ethos of this cosmopolitan society precludes any analysis assuming racial differences. However, the largest single group within the mixed student population of Paradise consists of that ethnic element which has consistently out-performed middle-class Caucasians on their own culturally-based standards in almost every situation. They do so here. A substantial body of research here, little noted by educators, makes it clear that ethnic and cultural differences in academic outcomes are as dramatic as those of different localities in spite of our thorough commitment to identical treatment.

Is there any way that manifest diversities in educational outcomes can be related to social change and culture shock? Several factors in the local environments of Paradise seem to influence the performance of youth in its schools. To begin with the most obvious consideration, a very high proportion of youthful dropouts seen here are products of broken homes - a factor closely correlated with truancy and delinquency in general. This, like the temporary collapse of test scores after an elementary school fire, suggests a connection between social discontinuity and academic failure. In the school situation most impacted by social change here, the rapid expansion of tourist hotels brings discontinuities in family life and broken marriages as housewives take glamour jobs on evening shifts while fathers still work in the cane fields. For youth of 16 or older, the hotels offer apparently attractive but dead end jobs as an alternative to continued school work.

Another large factor in academic failure and early withdrawal is the culture shock experienced by both Filipino and middle-class Caucasian immigrants to Paradise. In the case of the Filipino children, the problem is defined as a language handicap, but the social and academic adjustment problems of Caucasians are equally serious and largely ignored. On Paradise and elsewhere throughout the state, the performance of children in the early grades of village elementary schools approximates national norms. However, tested achievement declines in direct proportion to grade level achieved to a degree which has tempted editorial writers to suggest that time spent in school is counterproductive. A more plausible, alternative hypothesis has implications for national efforts to equalize educational opportunity. It seems here that the amount of time spent on school buses is what is counterproductive. As students advance to the upper grades, they are transported from their home communities to consolidated intermediate and high schools.

Apart from the confusion created by individual differences, it seems that achievement declines, and it is obvious that truancy increases, in direct proportion to the distance that children are removed from their familiar environment.

In spite of centrally mandated uniformities, there is reason to suspect that elementary instruction in our village schools is related to the world the child experiences, and that this quality is lost as they are transported to a distant location. The extent to which such local variations occur, and the extent to which they are related to student achievement or the level of administrative supervision, are matters which require further exploration. Another confusing variable is introduced by the fact that PTA participation remains fairly active in our village schools but has become moribund in that high school most impacted by social change.

Although the administrative ethic ignores this, ethnic background and the cultural values of the home are clearly related to academic achievement. The relationship is so strong here, and probably elsewhere, that one suspects that school work and grades do little more than "certify" learning stimulated in the home and that schools simply take credit for the sunshine. These obvious ethnic-cultural differences are difficult to distinguish from the socio-economic status of the family when recent immigrants are confined to low-status jobs, but the differences clearly exist. Japanese-American and older Caucasian families are most actively supportive of the work of their children in the schools and most often in touch with teachers who are predominantly of the same backgrounds. Those families are most inclined and most able to communicate to their children a vision of a future to which academic achievement is essential. Their children are most successful in our schools.

Except for the immigrants still suffering from culture shock, the Hawaiian children are least successful, and their tendency to failure has recently become a matter of record that can no longer be avoided. Many Hawaiian parents sincerely believe that Japanese-American teachers reject their children as hopeless without giving them a chance. That assumption minimizes parent-teacher interaction and becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy. It seems, however, that the standard biases built into the curriculum are most remote from the Hawaiian cultural heritage of cooperative and experiential learning and that the prejudices are, thus, more institutional than personal. With the tourist-related commercialization of the Hawaiian mystique, Hawaiian families are more often involved in the glamour, glitter, and broken shifts of a resort life which seems inherently antithetical to the ethos of academic achievement.

Older, more-settled Filipino families are as oriented to success through education as any other immigrant group in the American experience. With some notable exceptions which deserve further study, their children do less well than those of other groups even after the families have achieved middle-class status. Experience here suggests that their culture tends to defer too much to teachers, expects too much from formal schooling, and fails to provide effective support at home for classroom work.

Related to environmental factors only indirectly if at all is the fact that there are some able and successful teachers in each of our schools. Their efforts confuse simple correlations with cultural factors or social discontinuities by inspiring some students in each of the categories above to academic ambition and achievement. Just what their workways are, and whether or not the same ways work in different situations, are matters that call for further observation. The ability to respond in teaching to

individual differences and the world experienced by students seems related to experience, tenure, and security. Those who faithfully follow cook-book formulas out of conviction, fear, habit, or inexperience appear least effective. Yet another factor appears to limit that generalization. A grow- number of experienced teachers have "burned out" and are only going through the motions, and this is reported most frequently in the least stable school-community situations. Many teachers there have become so preoccupied with problems of discipline as to neglect instruction, and that response may be related to pressures passed down by the principal.

Both public and professional opinions on the quality of teaching include contradictions. Some hold that the failures involve tired, old warhorses who haven't had a new idea in a decade. Others insist that the problems result from the retirement of dedicated, experienced teachers and their replacement by inexperienced, unimaginative, timid hacks without a commitment to their task. These contradictions can only be resolved by a more direct and intensive observation in the schools.

Local experience joins with the weight of professional literature to accent the crucial role of the school principal in spite of the narrow limits within which discretion in that role is confined here. The role of the principal is obviously important, and it is also obviously related to the situation in which one works. Outstanding success by a principal in one situation here has not accompanied transfer to a different locale. Pressure or inspiration passed through the principal to his faculty and students influences the climate of his school. What he relays, amplifies, or filters out of administrative mandates from above accounts in part for noticable differences in campus atmosphere. What one filters, amplifies, or relays in upward communication accounts in part for an apparent inability to recognize those differences in higher administrative circles.

Turnover in the principal's position has been directly related to social instability and environmental change in the three high school districts. The unstable community can put heavy, even killing, pressure on the principal. As noted earlier, our most stable community - in spite of certain socio-economic and environmental handicaps - has sustained our most stable principal until the tested achievement, student morale, community support, and attendance there have become the best of the three high schools. Elsewhere, when new people come in, they tend to "tighten up" the operation and require more literal enforcement of regulations. That, in turn, seems to increase the instability of the campus and leave the faculty inclined to merely nominal compliance.

The hypotheses listed just above are impressions based on the insufficient evidence available in this office, not conclusions of this administrative study. They are advanced because the meaning of administrative action or research remains incomplete until its implications are explored at the operating level. More important, they are advanced in the hope that adequate data on the points raised may enrich the significance of administrative action. A district office cannot respond to differences in "geographic, population, and community makeup" without such information.

A Recommendation

There are ways in which the skills, experience, and dedication of administrators can be brought to the service of learning. The first of those ways might be to engage the staff in more direct interaction with teachers and students, with learning and the environments in which that occurs. One consequence of such interaction would be to revive the respect some staff people have lost for the devotion of the teaching faculty and the lessons those people have learned in their work experience. That alone

might minimize administrative preoccupation with "teacher proof" curricula. It would reconnect apparently spinning wheels of administrative machinery with the process of instruction. It would tend to transform educational officers from staff assistants to the Superintendent into more active advocates of the needs of teachers and students. It would revitalize the upward flow of communication - the essential feedback from the operating level - so largely lost in recent years. It would refresh the administrator's sense of that restless curiosity of youth which will be exercised, in school or out, and which, all matters of budget, schedule, or certification aside, provides the energy for learning. On must recognize, however, that any such efforts would represent a threat to existing activities and the sentiments with which those are defended.

To achieve the goals above, one would have to transfer the "task force" mechanism - through which local diversities are now homogenized into common classroom formulas - from the state to the district or local level. At that level, the work should not engage only those educational specialists concentrating on fragments of the curriculum. Work might be organized by geographic area rather than curricular subject matter, and the district staff together would focus on the total program of schools most adversely impacted by environmental change. They would work at a level that would make informed faculty and community members resource people in their inquiry rather than sullen recipients of designs dictated elsewhere. A task force concentrating on the community and its learning environment would, of course, be empowered to draw on such technical competence from the state office or the university as its inquiry may require. However, a respect for the authority of the situation may come to supplement that now reserved for the authority of position.

The approach suggested accents relationships now ignored within the curriculum and those between what is learned in and out of school. A novel focus on the environment may cast all participants in the role of learners again, emphasizing common characteristics of that role above existing ranks and specializations. Most important, a concentration on the problems of a given situation may also lead to a discovery of its possibilities. That is the only way this study can see to give substance to the neglected mandate of the Administrative Manual: "Differences due to geographic, population, and community makeup must be recognized in planning for the accomplishment of the Department's mission."

Task forces at the district level could be funded at less cost than present efforts in the state office with the travel those entail. Yet it seems futile to expect abandonment of existing categories of administrative activity and expenditure. One must hope that the special funds appropriated directly to the schools can support the tasks proposed. Nothing could be more consistent with the legislative intent of decentralization behind that appropriation.

The suggestions above may seem a timid trumpet with which to attack the walls in which this institutional ideology is intrenched. That citadel is protected by lines of communication which exclude more than they transmit and defy direct assault. The present proposal undermines those defenses by altering the patterns of activity and interaction on which they stand. However, the disciplined guardians of this educational establishment are more governed by what they are required to report than by what they are told. It is late and all is not well. New activities focused on a local environment may generate a body of information sufficient to alter both the content and patterns of communication in which policy-making is now confined. Ultimately, however, the institutional ideology must be met

on its own terms. Its core principal of equality - now expressed as identity of treatment - cannot be challenged. It can only be confronted with evidence of the inequity of outcomes and loss of opportunity which now attends its application in that form in widely different circumstances. Equality of opportunity can be more nearly approximated by ways of learning equally appropriate to the world and culture in which one lives.

A Note on Methodology. Recent correspondence has announced plans for a volume to examine "conceptual and methodological dilemmas entailed in studying schools and school districts as political and administrative organizations." The paragraph then continues:

> The basic theoretical dilemma which we seek to address may be articulated as follows: school districts, like other public organizations, are frequently caught between two conflicting imperatives - the need to satisfy the demands for professional excellence and administrative efficiency and the need to either satisfy or assuage the demands of the various political constituencies in its environment. In effect, public organizations are compelled to compromise, sometimes sacrificing professional excellence for political expedience.

Thus, in its first step, the proposal becomes entangled in an institutional ideology which equates self-generated pressures for organizational maintenance with "professionalism" and dismisses demands for productivity as "politics." It substitutes a substantive issue as ideologically defined for the methodological problem.

That correspodence brought to mind some half-forgotten lines which pose a different issue:

> Still stands the schoolhouse by the road, a ragged beggar sunning.
> Around it still the sumacs grow and blackberry vines are running.

The basic dilemma in picking blackberries or studying schools is getting close enough to reach the fruit without being entangled in the briars. Those are the horns of the methodological dilemma. Can we grasp essential facts without being caught in the thorns of an institutional ideology which appropriates concepts of "professionalism," "excellence," "certification," or "objectivity" to protect its establishment from examination or attack?

This study was conducted by a stranger barely conversant with the meanings words assume in their organizational setting, and that may

account for the fact that its labors bore so little fruit. It has produced little more than hypotheses about ideological gaps in an educational system. Those hypotheses can only be confirmed by comparative studies and methods more rigorous than those available in this small enterprise. This study has wandered long down barren paths, more sensitive to what did not appear than cognizant of what does. Therein may lie what small merit it contains. While finding little fruit, it has, in some measure, evaded the thorns.

In exploring game theory for concepts which might explain apparently dysfunctional behavior, this writer came to a sense that all of life is a game that one is destined to lose at the end. Hence, our games must be so contrived as to make the satisfactions enjoyed worth that brief candle. Thus we are all driven to exceptional exercises of imagination in defense of the roles we play. If we cannot do what we believe in, we must believe in what we do. Whether we consider administrators in their office, scholars at their research, or infants in kindergarten, we may think of them as children at play in different corners of the same sand box, pretending there are tigers in the garden that their imaginary rifles may slay in some "victory for humanity."

One need go no farther than my office or, perhaps, the reader's own to find committed educators ignoring the needs of students while engaged in myths and ceremonies which pass for professional achievement. Such may be the ultimate explanation of this present enterprise. If it has no other outcome, it should at least inhibit us from casting stones at those in some other corner of the sand box as the game goes on.

National Institute of Education Research Notes

The study assumes that Kauai has experienced a decade of social, economic and demographic changes which pose problems of adjustment or innovation for its educational practice. This project will examine the manner and extent to which such problems have been perceived, defined and met, and it will explore the impact of recent funding changes on those educational adjustments.

After a preliminary survey of challenge and response, the study will concentrate on certain representative problems and focus on the role of the District Office within larger social, administrative, or political mechanisms for problem solving. Leading questions for people who see the matter from various vantage points are illustrated below.

1. What changes on Kauai in the last ten years do you see as posing major challenges to educational practice, and how do you rate those (0 to 5) in order of importance. Please add items, and show your ratings on the left.

( )	A growing impact of TV on childhood experience or learning styles.	( )
( )	Changes in the child-rearing role of families when both parents work.	( )
( )	Changes in local youth reflecting a "counter-culture," hippie influx.	( )
( )	Change from plantation workways to a tourism-recreation oriented society.	( )
( )	Needs or demands posed by new haole or Filipino arrivals on Kauai.	( )
( )	Different career goals or expectations held by Kauai's young people.	( )
( )	_____	( )
( )	_____	( )

2. Looking back at the challenges now noted above, how do you rate (0 to 5) the effectiveness of the educational response here? (Note that major problems may have been fully met while minor problems remain - or the reverse.) Please give your judgment of the adequacy of responses in the boxes on the right.

3. What do you think are the most significant innovations of the decade within our "educational community" in response to challenges or problems on Kauai? Please rate your own additions and the following responses (0 to 5) as you see the importance of each in meeting local needs.

( )	Emergence of Student Councils and student participation in decision-making.
( )	Advanced placement or vocational training options at the Community College.
( )	Development of teachers' organizations and the functions they have assumed.
( )	Creation of learning alternatives for troubled or disruptive students.
( )	Changes such as "3 on 2" or the Hawaii English Program in classrooms.
( )	Expansion of Special Service resources available from the District Office.
( )	_____
( )	_____

(Please refine the suggestions above or expand your ideas on the back if necessary.)

4. With reference to the adjustments you have judged most significant in meeting Kauai's educational problems, please indicate (0 to 5) the importance of any elements contributing to the changes made.

( ) Requirements attached to grants of federal funds.

( ) Requests or attitudes expressed by Kauai students.

( ) Initiatives or technical assistance from the District Office.

( ) Support enlisted from Kauai's legislative delegation.

( ) Rulings of the State Superintendent and Board of Education.

( ) Proposals advanced by teachers through their schools.

( ) Demands raised through teachers' organizations.

( ) Pressures rising from parents, employers, or the general public.

( ) _____

( ) _____

5. With reference to continuing problems or challenges still unmet, please weigh (0 to 5) the importance of any factors that seem to prevent or restrict needed adjustments.

( ) An inability of anyone to advance reasonable and workable solutions.

( ) Distrust by the general public of novel, educational approaches.

( ) Inflexibility of budgetary and administrative procedures.

( ) Threats to present practices or personnel of any reallocation of resources.

( ) Failures of communication within the administrative structure.

( ) Inertia caused by traditional classroom practice and scheduling.

( ) _____

( ) _____

6. Please rate (0 to 5) any factor that you feel would make our educational practice more responsive to Kauai's needs and problems in the near future.

( ) Greater use of new audio-visual and instructional technologies.

( ) Higher credit or competence requirements for promotion or graduation.

( ) More active, administrative encouragement of new teaching approaches.

( ) The provision of "special funds" and wider discretion at the local level.

( ) An increase in the strength of teachers' organizations.

( ) Greater initiative by individual faculty within the present structure.

( ) _____

( ) _____

Thank you for your cooperation on these questions and for any additional thought you offer on related issues.